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*Presented by*  
PICTURE OF INDIA,  
*A. H. M. 1850*

GEOGRAPHICAL,  
*London 1850*

HISTORICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE

BY ROBERT MUDIE.

THIRD EDITION.

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TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
EDWARD  
LORD ELLENBOROUGH,  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL  
FOR INDIAN AFFAIRS,  
&c. &c.

THE PICTURE OF INDIA

IS

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

SHACKELLAND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

## P R E F A C E.

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THE real importance of India—the exalted opinion which those who have not looked into the particulars entertain of its wealth—the mistakes as to what that wealth consists in—the great extent of country under the dominion of the British—the number of our countrymen that are holding, or expecting, situations there—the vast responsibility under which the Company have brought themselves, in the governing of so many persons, of whose characters they are ignorant, and the consequent ignorance in which the governors must be of the necessities and wants of the government—the anomalous fact, that Britons are not allowed permanently to settle in a country, of which the government is British—the inquiries that are already instituted, with regard to the renewal of the Company's charter, and the increasing

interest which every thing connected with India will acquire as the time of the actual debate on the renewal approaches,—all so far justify the publication of a book, which shall present the chief outlines of India in a small compass.

There is also another reason, which renders the appearance of such a book, in some degree, imperative. As the time alluded to approaches, there will, judging from past experience, be a great deal of writing and publishing about the subject; and, again judging from past experience, the quality of that writing will bear no reasonable proportion to the quantity. Upon both sides it will be party writing; and it will proceed upon British grounds, and be supported by temporary arguments and illustrations. For these reasons, it will not be conclusive. The chance is, that the parties may also argue different questions—the opponents of the Company, the question of trade; and its supporters, the question of government. Thus, though each were to use arguments that apply properly to that which they mean to support, they would not meet each other; and as the one would not be a cross-examination of the other,



the public would be bewildered by having two *ex-parte* statements, without any means of judging of either. THE PICTURE OF INDIA is, in so far as it goes, tendered as evidence.

But it is not upon British or temporary grounds that the question of India must be tried. India has, from the very remotest period of history, been nearly what it is at present ; and it has all along been so different from England, both physically and morally, that no argument which applies in the one country will apply in the other ; and, therefore, before an Englishman can be able to take any thing like a rational part in that which must ere long be one of the leading topics of conversation, he must know at least something about the natural and moral phenomena of India, and the causes upon which these depend. To view the matter minutely, it must be viewed philosophically ; and as the data upon which that view must be grounded are different from those with which we are most familiar in Europe, he must attend a little to Indian philosophy.

It occurred to the author, that the present is a time at which the public will evince a desire

to obtain this information ; that the temporary excitement will give a relish for a book of permanent information ; and, therefore, leaving those who are interested to assert or argue, he has conceived that he would be more usefully employed in sketching an outline of the subject of dispute, in as clear a manner, and within as brief a space, as he possibly could.

India is so large, its history is so long, and the points in which it presents itself are so many and so diversified, that, to take one broad and general view of it, in such a manner as not to be at variance with some of the details, is very difficult, and, perhaps, impossible. That the author has made even a decent approximation to a view of this kind, it becomes not him to say ; but if he has failed, the failure must be attributed wholly to his want of ability. The subject itself is one of the most interesting connected with man, or the planet which he inhabits ; and the author has been attending to it for nearly thirty years ; so that if his book be found not a good one, he has really no plea to urge in mitigation. But those who are the best qualified for judging of so varied and ex-

tensive a subject, are always the most candid to admit that two persons, against whom no serious charge either of ignorance or error can, with propriety, be brought, may each select as the most important, those points that appear but of minor importance to the other; and when there must be selection, this always takes off some of the edge of well-informed criticism.

There is another objection, which may be brought forward by rather a different description of judges; and that may be, that “The Picture of India should have been sketched in India.” Now if a man could be found who had lived in *all* India, and lived in it ever since the days of Sesostris, the objection would have weight; but till such a man be found, the argument, in the case of a general outline, makes more the other way. In order to take a perfectly fair general view of any subject, it is quite indispensable that the parts of it should be all presented to the mind with the same vividness; and this can never be the case where the party depends upon observation in a few instances, and upon evidence in the greater number. This remark is not offered as any

presumptive evidence of the value of these volumes—that must be judged of by others ; but it is offered to remove a prejudice which sometimes appears. “ The Picture of India,” then, is intended to furnish a general sketch of the country, as well to those who are to visit it, who are in it, or have returned, as to those who merely wish for information ; and it appears at the present time, because it has the greater chance of being read.

In every part of it, the delineations are of course brief ; but all the attention that the author could muster has been employed to make them forcible ; and where the induction of particulars appeared long, the endeavour has been rather to prepare the reader for making the point, than to make it for him.

The analysis of the chapters will give a general idea of the contents and order of the book. The first volume contains the geography and natural history ; and the second the historical and descriptive account of the people. In both, formality, and the pedantry that a very rigidly scientific form is very apt to assume, if not actually to possess, have been carefully

avoided, in order that the whole might have the appearance of what is usually called a “popular” book. On a subject which offers so many points for reflection, it is, however, not possible to get into the proper spirit without a little “expatiation” now and then; but the author hopes that those passages will not be found either too numerous or very presumptive. Those who are able to appreciate how delightful it would be to launch out into all the breadth and beauty of such a subject as India, will make some allowances for a man, who, in order that he may be more generally useful, restrains himself to a single line, where the subject would demand a volume, and even then be far from exhausted.

*Bank of the Thames,  
March, 1830.*





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THE  
PICTURE OF INDIA.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.



<sup>A</sup>  
HINDU TEMPLE.

THE fame of India has been of wider extent, and longer duration, than that of any other country that can be mentioned. From the very earliest records of history, its name has been

synonymous with luxury and splendour; and "the wealth of the Indies" has been a proverb for centuries, even among those who hardly know the situation of the country. It is true that many of those who have thus described India have looked at it only through the long vista of two thousand miles, and that those who have had closer means of inspection have seen the wealth of India as accumulated by priests and rulers, and not in its diffusion among the people. This is a distinction which it is necessary to carry along in estimating all the representations of India, excepting those of a very recent date; and it is one which applies, not to the history of India only, but to that of all countries. The magnificence of temples and palaces, the glitter of diadems, the pomp of courts and processions, and the luxury of royal banquets, are no criteria of the general wealth or the actual resources of any country. In England, all these matters are now not only less magnificent, as compared with the general enjoyments of the people, than they were some centuries ago, but they are actually not half so splendid in themselves. The intellectual service of an English cathedral, how much soever it may be in accordance with reason and conducive to morality, is not half so dazzling to the sight,

as those exhibitions, the place of which, fortunately for the prosperity of the country, it has occupied. An English nobleman of the nineteenth century, travelling in his plain carriage, and with only two servants, would not impress one, ignorant of the whole state of matters, with half so exalted a notion of its wealth, as the progress of a baron of the middle ages, surrounded with five hundred belted knights, and the whole yeomen of a county, armed and following at his heels. The monarch of England, too, riding down with only a few guards, and in a costume not differing much from that of a private gentleman, with no accompaniment, save the congratulations of his people, unbidden and more felt than loud, to open the session of the British Senate, would give no idea that, in all this simple and unostentatious proceeding, there is far more of the essence of real power, than there ever was in the state of the hundred courts of India, or in those of Acbar or Aurungzebe, in the very zenith of their grandeur. Their wealth extended not beyond the court, and where the sword was not, their power was unknown; but the nations wait in anxious suspense for the speech of the British Sovereign, and that speech goes forth as a law, either directly or indirectly, over the whole civilized world; and both the moral and

the physical power that are ready to give it effect, when that becomes necessary, are abundantly recorded in the annals of every quarter of the globe. When, therefore, we read or speak of the rulers of the east, we must not measure them by the standard of the west; for, if the real wealth that is distributed among the people of England or of France, were accumulated in the same manner as that of India once was, the latter would sink into comparative insignificance.

But, even when we take this precaution along with us, and thereby get the better of that exaggeration, of which there is a great deal even in this country, enough remains to render India, in almost every light in which we can view it, one of the most interesting portions of the earth's surface. Its natural features are, by turns, the most sublime and the most beautiful. Our loftiest mountains are but as mole-hills to its stupendous ridges, the summits of which are as lofty as Ben Nevis would be if piled on the top of Chimborazo. Our noblest rivers are but rills compared to its mighty streams, upon which navies can ride in the extremest drought, and which, in the rainy seasons, are seas, hundreds of miles in extent. The scenery is the most varied. In one place, there are dry and thirsty deserts, stretching



beyond the limits of vision ; in others, fat meadows, where the reeds and grass are so luxuriant, that the rhinoceros and the elephant gambol unseen. Here, there are bold, naked rocks, crumbling into dust by the action of the atmosphere, and there, are dells and groves of the greatest beauty, and the richest foliage and perfume, interspersed with glowing lakes, and spotted with buildings of the most light and fantastic shapes. In one place, there are the richest fields, repaying the husbandman with several crops in the course of the year ; and in another, there are thick jungles of forest, which no man can penetrate, and yet which dare not be cleared away, or the soil on which they grow would be washed into the ocean, and the lands behind, to which they are at once a pestilence and a defence, would share the same fate. The climate, too, presents the greatest variations. The summits of the mountains rise far above the limits of animal life and vegetation, into the regions of perennial snow ; and the great rivers have their remote sources hung with icicles in the most ardent seasons, even where they issue from the earth in a state of ebullition. In other places the heat is excessive, even in situations far without the tropics, so that vegetation languishes and disappears, and Europeans are confined to their apartments,

in which they are compelled to have recourse to artificial currents of air for refrigeration. In places, however, which lie much nearer to the equator, the rain is, for six months of the year, so violent, that all out-door operations are nearly suspended, and the people are obliged to victual their houses in a manner almost similar to that in which a ship is victualled for a voyage of the same duration; and at the very season when this happens, (about  $15^{\circ}$  north latitude, near the west coast,) the heat is so intense at Calcutta, six hundred miles further to the north, but on the opposite side of the country, that pigeons are killed on the wing, and drop down dead in the streets, while a very brief exposure to the heat, with the head naked, is sufficient to bring on a fatal *coup de soleil*.

Temperature and humidity are the two great agents in the production of all terrestrial phenomena, whether these relate to the soil itself, or to the plants and animals which are produced and maintained upon the surface. Therefore, we may be prepared, in a country where the action of those great causes is so varied and so powerful, to expect corresponding results, and that the vegetable and the animal productions of India should be equally worthy of notice for their variety and for their

value. Such accordingly is the case: and from the very dawn of history, the productions of India have been among the chief objects of desire in the western world. The timbers, the gums, the perfumes, and the spices of India, the plumage of her birds, the tusks of her elephants, with countless other articles, have ministered to the splendour of other nations in all ages. Nay, it is by no means improbable that the more valuable of the garden fruits which are now cultivated so extensively and with so much assiduity in Europe, are natives of some part of the extensive region which is known by the general appellation of India. The peach and the nectarine have been traced to Persia; and notwithstanding that some have spoken about the cultivation of the sloe into the plum, and the crab into the apple, the more rational opinion seems to be, that both of these were at one time unknown to the western world, and were brought from the eastward of the Mediterranean.

The beauty and grandeur of some of those productions which have resisted transportation, or have become degenerated under less ardent skies, is very remarkable. Some of the palms of India are the most graceful, at the same time that they are the most useful of trees; the teak of the western mountains of India

excels in cohesion and durability, the best heart of oak ; and there is one tree which is the symbol of India herself ; that is, the banyan tree or Indian fig—(*ficus Indica*), which though not more enduring in its timber when that is applied to use, than any other tree, yet actually possesses, in its verdant, and growing, and increasing state, a principle which defies the course of ordinary vegetable decay, and puts on the semblance of immortality. The giants of other forests endure for periods to which the life of man is but a span in comparison. The oak braves its three hundred years, and probably the chestnut and the cedar of Lebanon may add to their duration two centuries more ; but their years are at last numbered ; the trunk becomes too much indurated, and the roots too long and hard, for the circulation of the nutritious juices ; the top in consequence withers, and the internal part of the trunk dries, decays, and becomes hollow : and though the bark and external layers of the wood struggle for a time, and put forth a few twigs or leaves, the storms level the ruin with the dust, or, in the case of the oak, the dry rot — (*xylostoma giganteum*) — and other *fungi* fasten upon the unventilated parts of the hollow, and drain the juices ; and the remainder of the trunk wastes away, leaving only a little :

circle of root for a few years, as the monument of its former majesty. Not so, with the banyan tree. It is not dependant on a single root and trunk, the labour of which, and consequently their tendency to decay, increase with the increase of the tree. The branches divide the labour with the root that produced them. As soon as they have extended to that lateral distance which requires a prop to support them during the violence of the storms, they dart down perpendicular shoots, which instantly strike root in the ground, and at once give stability and send up nourishment to the tree, the original stem of which they in time emulate in diameter; and the whole tree stands a grove of three or four hundred massy stems, all ramified into one verdant canopy, so that no storm can root it up, and each contributes to the nourishment and life of the whole; while, as the branches, which derive fresh vigour from the virgin soil into which the new roots have struck, extend further in a lateral direction, hundreds of new shoots are in preparation, so that the nourishment and vitality of the mighty mass of vegetation are always increased in the full ratio of its size. Over such a tree the common lapse of time, and the casualties of the weather, violent as the latter are in India, have no power; and it can become a

prey only to the wantonness of man, the devouring fire, or the flood of some mighty river tearing away the earth in which it is rooted. Against the first of those casualties it has a security in the very constitution of Indian society, it being accounted a sacred tree. Nor is it in much danger from those accidental fires, which, during the season of drought, sometimes consume the forests of tropical countries, for it generally grows upon the rich and humid banks of the larger rivers, and it is only from the inundations of these that it can suffer. One tree of this species has, according to the accounts of the natives, vegetated upon the banks of the Nerbudda, within a short distance of the ruined city of Broach, which is about five and twenty miles from the confluence of the river with the Gulf of Cambay, for a period of three thousand years; and though a portion of it has been torn away by the floods of the river, all the remainder is in active vegetation, without any indication that it may, if not subjected to a similar casualty, double, triple, or increase by any indefinite number of times, its present age. Nor is there any just reason to suppose that the Indian account is exaggerated; the description given by Pliny would answer to the individual tree under consideration, and probably his information was, in great part, derived from what was handed down from the followers of Alexander,



who visited India more than two thousand years ago ; and Milton's beautiful description, which was written after the moderns had visited India, (and Milton gives abundant evidence that he was in possession of all the geographical knowledge of his time, modern as well as ancient,) is little else than a literal translation of Pliny's, heightened by some poetical allusions.

Such a tree is the emblem of India itself ; for its population have remained in the great mass unchanged, since a period more distant than that of the incursion of Alexander. The epoch of the invasion by Darius Hystaspes was about two hundred years earlier, and the manners of the people were then nearly the same as they are at the present day. Nor, though we cannot accurately fix the time, have we any reason to doubt the reality of the earlier visit by Sesostris, the Egyptian conqueror, at which, whatever may have been the precise time, the manners of the people of India were still the same, not only in a domestic point of view, but in the ease with which, when one battle was lost, they yielded to the events of conquest, and the rapidity with which they reverted to their former state when that had passed away.


To those who have no pecuniary interest in the present condition of India, as subject to

British power, this endurance of the population is the most interesting question,—indeed it is one of the most interesting in the whole history of the human race. In most other parts of the world, empire has followed empire, and nation has swept nation into oblivion: or the manners, and even the language, of the conquered, have wholly, or to a very great extent, given place to those of the conquerors. Of the glory of Egypt, and Babylon, and Persia, and Greece, nothing remains: and even the palaces of the Caliphs of Bagdad, the Khans of Samarcand, and the Sovereigns of Ghizni, of Agra, and of Delhi, and of more recent monarchs, are in ruins. Most of the nations which furnished the armies that invaded and conquered India, have now no name upon the map in a land of their own; and the Arabs, the Bactrians, the Mogul Tartars, or whatsoever races came to settle in India, have thus felt the same decline, as without their natural boundaries, and are melting away. The Bhudists, who are understood to have, at one time, made an irruption from the north-east, and occupied and held sway in the valley of the Ganges, are now extinct there; their palaces are obliterated, their temples have become heaps, and attract only an occasional pilgrim from the mountains. The Mahommedans are



also vanishing, at a rate which rapidly increases, so that, in no very long period, they must become extinct. But the Hindû is the same. Like a flexible reed to the storm of the atmosphere, he bends level with the earth before every wind of conquest, come from whithersoever it may ; but he is as elastic as he is flexible, and no sooner has the storm passed, than he is again erect and vigorous. The cause of this permanence in spite of changes,—this unaltered endurance amid conquests, more numerous, perhaps, than those that have visited any other country, is so singular and so much at variance with that which has taken place in other parts of the world, that it is eminently worthy of investigation.

It will probably be found, upon inquiry, that this permanence depends chiefly upon two circumstances,—the vast numbers of the Indian population, and those circumstances in their general laws and policy which make it a matter of very great indifference to the body of the people who may be their temporal ruler. It is sometimes said that the number of Europeans, of English in particular, that are in India, should operate a change upon the manners of the people : and, in the principal English towns, this may, to some extent at least, be the case ; but the number of English resi-



dent in the country is not much greater in proportion to the whole population, than the number of Jews and other Orientals resident in England, is to the native population of that country ; and their objects are nearly as foreign to any thing relative to what may be considered the native state of India, as the pursuits of those foreigners in England ; and, therefore, even though they were as free to be affected in the one country as in the other, the influence in both should be nearly the same. But the natives of India are not only bound to the soil,—they are bound to it in a constant manner, through their successive generations. There are probably about six thousand Hindûs in the country for every European ; three fourths of the latter are soldiers ; and of the six thousand or seven thousand that remain, the greater part are about the factories, and even there—far more in the remote parts of the country—they are “*among* the people, but not of them.” Indeed, as to any influence upon their manners, they are hardly *among* them. A Hindû, therefore, were he to assume the manners of an Englishman, would offend a million with whom he is connected, and by whom he would be despised for the change, while he would be only assimilated to one by the change, and that one would care very little for him.

It was this which caused the population of India to remain unchanged by the armies of Sesostris, Darius, and Alexander; it was this which rendered the conquests of Mahmoud in the beginning of the eleventh century, nothing more than a momentary subjugation of the native princes; and it was this which rendered the sway of the Moguls unstable, from the first irruption by the immediate descendants of Gingis Khan in 1242, to the final subversion of the Mogul empire toward the close of the eighteenth century, so very feeble and fluctuating. Indeed the governments of India, whether of native princes, or foreign invaders, have been unstable. Nor has this remarkable difference between the stability of the Indian population and the fluctuation of the powers by which they have been governed or influenced, been confined to eastern powers. The rise and fall of the commercial influence of those European nations that have, in succession, monopolised the commerce of India, have been as remarkable, and formed as great a contrast to what has taken place in other parts of the world. Where the swarthy natives of Africa, or the red men of America, have felt the power of Europeans, and have, as has usually been the case, faded or flitted before that power, the

original conqueror retains the possession, or its colonists have been transferred to another, or they have revolted, and became independent. But in India, the great body of the people have been indifferent to, and unaffected by, the changes; and when different European powers have struggled for the mastery of certain parts of the Indian coasts, the natives have, according to the different workings of intrigue, shown an equal disposition to side with, or against, either the one or the other. Nor, with the great body of them, has it appeared to be of much consequence whether they bore arms in defence of a native prince or against him; for of the many populous and valuable provinces, over which the dominion and influence of the British now extend, the greater part have been subjugated by armies of whom the majority were native Hindûs. In almost every other part of the world, and throughout the whole period of its history, we are in the habit of identifying nations with their governments, and regarding their fates as being so linked, that the rise or fall of the one involves that of the other as a matter of course. In modern Europe, we have only one remarkable exception to that, and that is the Jews. Nearly eighteen hundred years have elapsed since their Holy City was sacked, and their lands sold to the Romans; and both the Romans, and those

by whom they were subjugated and expelled, are gone, the former as a nation, and the latter as rulers; and during that long period, the Jews have been scattered among the other nations, without lands, without government, and many times exposed to the greatest obloquy and injustice; and yet, amid all the changes in the states and nations among whom they have sojourned, they have remained a separate and unchangeable people. They have done so, chiefly, because they have been unconnected with, and therefore indifferent to the governments by which they have been alternately tolerated and oppressed; and, upon the principle that like causes produce like results, the only one upon which we can reason, the same must have been the chief source of the stability of the Indian population, and the little influence that successive conquests have had upon their manners.

Most nations have had their waxings and their wanings,—their times of advancing in the arts, and of again falling back into comparative ignorance and barbarity; and in half the number of years to which the history of India extends, we have seen at least one of these changes in all civilized nations, and two or more of them in not a few. But during the whole period, we are not warranted in saying decidedly that India has advanced, or that it has fallen back. From

the splendid ruins that are met with in many parts of India,—the temples, of giant dimensions, excavated and moulded out of the solid rock, the magnificent forts, palaces, and temples, that are crumbling into ruin, and the canals that are decayed and destitute of water, some have inferred, that the Indians, as a whole people, have declined. But we have already adduced instances, in countries, the history of which is much more perfectly known, to show that the existence of such works is no proof of superior wealth diffused through the whole mass of the people, and consequently that these ruins alone are no evidence that the state of the whole people was better at any former period. When we find a splendid ruin in a country which is now depopulated—a Palmyra or a Baalbek, in an arid wilderness of sand,—or the Tower of Belus amid the desolation which now prevails on the banks of the Euphrates, we must conclude that such a country has deteriorated, and may seek the cause in physical or political changes. But when we find a ruin, however magnificent, in the midst of a dense population, we are forced to no such conclusion; and the question as to whether the people are politically better or worse, or have civilly advanced or fallen back, will depend upon the comparative quantity of their labour, that has been given up at the two periods under comparison. Now, at



all periods of Indian history to which we have any access, it really appears that the residue of the produce of their labour that has been left to the great body of the people has been very much the same—it has been a scanty supply of the cheapest and most homely fare, the very minimum of clothing and utensils, and habitations of the most rude and simple kind. As this is the general case now, we cannot say that the condition of the people has improved—there being no improvement below the *minimum*; and we have just as little reason to conclude that it has become worse: the enjoyments of the great body of the people are fixed by laws, which are the same now as they were in the days of Alexander, and for an antecedent period of which no one can tell the length; and therefore we may conclude, that they have been unvaried all the while. As respects the native rulers, there have of course been changes in their own wealth and that of their favourites, just as there have been in the dynasties and the relative power of these. But really, in so far as the comforts of the working Indian, or his stimulus to greater or more skilful labour is concerned, it appears to have all along been a matter of very great indifference whether he was plundered by a native rajah or bramin, or by any one else,—whether the accumulation was ex-

pended in carving the rock at Elephanta or Elora, or was conveyed across the Indus or the ocean. The readiness with which the Hindû has, on all occasions, shifted masters, shows that he does not, and cannot, very strongly feel the tie and the stimulus of country; and, other than that, there remains only the selfish or personal feeling, which, in men who, by the law of their country, are doomed to be vile and servile through all generations, without any offence on their part, or virtue or merit in those that lord it over them, is not likely to be very strong in favour of improvement of skill, which would bring with it no improvement in condition. In all reasonings and opinions that, in any way, bear upon the population of India, those considerations require to be taken along; because any conclusion attempted to be drawn from European facts and arguments only, or indeed from the condition of society in any country except India itself, would be erroneous and inapplicable.—Such are some of the most striking peculiarities in the physical and social state of India, which render it an object of the greatest interest to the student of nature and of man; but there are others which render it peculiarly interesting to the people of this country, both in a general and in a temporary point of view.



England justly lays claim to the foremost rank among commercial nations. Her exports are more varied, and the products of her industry, generally speaking, better than those of any other country; her mercantile marine is more extensive, and her armed marine better adapted for protecting her trade all over the world. She has also colonies of her own in all latitudes and climates, from the extreme of cold, where mercury freezes, to that of heat, where a tallow candle cannot be used; and whatever of surplus produce these varied lands afford, she brings home, in part, and exchanges the rest, till she has an equal supply of the commodities of almost all countries. Therefore the chief commerce of such a country as India,—a country containing probably not much fewer than two hundred millions of people, and a country of which the productions have been celebrated in all ages,—is really an object of the utmost importance to her,—of far more importance than it would be to any other state, and probably of more than that of any single state would be to her.

It is true that, from what has been said of their condition, and what is known of its indisposition to change, the great body of the Indian population do not at present consume

much of the manufactures of this country : nor is it likely that the consumption of these among them would be soon, if ever, very great. But the more wealthy do consume a little, and, probably, in time the quantity might increase. Whether it might or not is no matter : the time has gone by when gold and silver, which, in the state of coin, are certainly the most convenient measures or representatives of wealth, were so identified with wealth itself, as to make people fancy that they were always parted with at a loss. The very reverse of that is, indeed, the case ; the wages of labour, in this country, are generally paid in money—in gold or silver, or in that which (now at least) can always be converted into these without any loss ; and in that case those who accumulate the wealth are the payers of the gold and silver, and not the receivers. Thus, though the people of India should be paid in those metals for all their commodities, it would not signify if those commodities brought a profit in that general market of the world to which Britain is in so superior a condition for resorting ; and that they actually do so, we have proof from the very commencement of the annals of commerce. Therefore, in a general commercial point of view, the knowledge of India is of very great importance to this country.

In another point of view it is still more important. Not only the chief commerce, but the actual sovereignty of the greatest and most valuable portion of India, is in our hands; and we exercise a controul over the rest, which, judging from the past, must, if the present state of matters continue, soon assume the name of that sovereignty, of which it is even now the reality. From the evidence of all past history, as well as from the issues of all Indian wars since the British power was what we may call consolidated in India, it may be assumed as true, that there is not a prince within the whole natural limits of the country, not a ruler over any portion of the two hundred millions of inhabitants, but really holds his throne, under whatever name it may be held, by sufferance of British power, and must render it up, upon whatever terms may be proposed, the very first time that that power is manifested against him. It avails nothing to say that patriotism, the spirit of the Indian people, would or may rise up; for in the course of more than two thousand years the people of that country have shown no patriotism; and, though we had not a good reason for arriving at the conclusion upon other grounds, that would be about as strong a proof as such cases admit of, that they have none to show: and

why should they?—it would be of no advantage to them. There might be intrigues, as there have been, arising from the ambition of native adventurers: and, as has been the case before, these might be fomented by other enemies of Britain in times of war; but “the sinews of war” are now under her controul, and without these, little could be done with a people who have been passive in their transfers from one conqueror to another, whether foreign or domestic, since the days of Sesostris.

This is an extent of empire, or rather a *numerical tale* of subjects, of which the annals of the world hardly afford a parallel. Russia, whose territorial extent is probably the greatest, does not number one third of it; and the greatest empire of antiquity, or that of the Moguls at its utmost extent, was probably still more inferior—at least it is certain that when the Mogul Emperor happened to be a weak man, half his provinces were in a state of revolt.

The mere controul of such a multitude of human beings by a regular and resident sovereign, through the medium of ministers and officers who were of the nation, and had, as it were, a hereditary knowledge of their customs and dispositions, would be a most momentous matter, and one would be apt *à priori*

to look upon it, as a political machine that would fall to pieces by its own weight ; and, if it were a colony, in which the natives, or descendants of the governing state, distant little short of a twenty thousand miles' voyage, were not to the native population, who know nothing about the governing country, in a rate so high as one to six thousand ; and furthermore, if the said natives had been a great and a civilized people, for ages before the governing country had had a name among independent nations, the continuance of the colonial government would seem little short of a miracle.

But vast as the one of those modes of sway would appear, and miraculous as the other, they are not by half so vast or so singular as the government of what is called the British Empire in India. There is no sovereign there, and not so much as a viceroy ; and the rulers of those two hundred millions have not necessarily, in virtue of the authority by which they rule, so much as a vote in the meanest parish vestry in England. They are twenty-four private gentlemen, who require to have no other status, name, or influence, in their own country, than the possession of as much stock in the company, and as much influence among the stockholders, as shall entitle and enable them to hold office as Directors of "the United

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." They have not the style of royal, or of honourable, or even of worshipful, like the companies that compose the livery of the City of London. They are simply "the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." There is no law demanding that they shall have visited that country, that they know any one thing about its inhabitants, or even that they know in which hemisphere it lies ; and yet they are the sovereigns of its two hundred millions of inhabitants, and, in the exercise of that sovereignty, have, without a controlling voice, or any quarter to which to appeal on the part of the natives, the command of a revenue fully as great as that which is required for the whole civil, military, and naval government of the British Empire, with all her colonies, as under the sceptre of her illustrious sovereign. This is commercial power, with a vengeance !—an *imperium in imperio*, which outdoes all the real and primary empires that ever existed. The twenty-four monarchs of India, if they derive not their exemption through some other means, are all-liable to serve the most common parish offices in their native country, to obey the "unwashed artisans" that may happen to be in those offices, and severally to be held to bail, or shut up in



the king's prison, for a debt of twenty pounds and one farthing per sovereign. We must not, in the meantime, take upon us to say, that this is right, or that it is wrong,—that it is a blessing, or the reverse, to the two hundred millions of inhabitants of India, who pay their tribute and bow their necks in obedience to the four-and-twenty titleless (if not otherwise titled) men, and, forwards and back, have nearly forty thousand miles between the complaint and the remedy. We must have evidence before we can come to that conclusion in either of its opposite forms. But the case is so much an anomaly from all the forms and habits of government, to which the world has been accustomed, that it stands prominently forward as an “especial wonder.” Why, if he were to come to this country, the whole of these four-and-twenty monarchs of the two hundred millions, would have to stand cap in hand to William Gustavus Frederick, the Sovereign Lord of Kniphausen, who sways his doughty sceptre over two thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine subjects, and has an army of eight-and-twenty troops, and who boasts of “a hundred head” of inhabitants in his capital city ! Upon the ground of this anomaly alone, the question would call for the most grave and mature consideration ; and if it were found just

as it should be, there is no seeing the end of the inferences that might be drawn from it.

But it is not in the abstract character of sovereigns of so vast a population, and as to how their deputed sway at such a distance may govern India, that the question comes before the people of this country. They have in fact greater powers than any of the sovereigns of Europe. For all the imperial state which they have acquired, and all the armament which they have for maintaining it, they are still the United Company of Merchants, and in that capacity have an influence on all the trade of India, outward and inward, and a perfect and close monopoly in the article of tea, which has become a necessary of life with almost every class of persons in the United Kingdom, and upon which a considerable public revenue depends. The question, therefore, involves the interests, both of the people and the government of the United Kingdom, or, to speak more correctly, it involves that joint and indivisible interest, which these have in common, and which cannot be so acted upon, by any cause whatever, as to injure the one without injuring the other to an equal extent. Such are the general reasons for calling the public attention to the subject of India, without any reference to time or temporary causes



But the temporary causes are also of considerable importance. All the power which the parties alluded to hold, great as it is beyond almost any other power that is held, or can be held, they hold under the British Legislature. That power was, after a great deal of opposition on the part of the public, and of some opposition, and a good deal of modification, on the part of the legislature and the executive, continued for twenty years certain, from and after the tenth of April, 1814. That is, if three years notice should be given to the company, and certain balances of monies paid to them any time after the tenth of April, 1831, their powers, both as sovereigns of India, and as a trading company, would be at an end. That time is approaching; and, from the momentous nature of the question, a great deal will in the interim be said upon both sides: and, in all probability, with so much strong feeling, that the real merits may be a little obscured by both. Those who set out with preconceived opinions, either that the company should have its powers continued for a fresh term of years, or that those powers should now cease, are both apt, and perhaps equally apt, to mislead the public. In saying this we mean to fix no stigma upon either party; but it is accordant with general experience, even upon ques-

tions that are purely philosophical or speculative, and do not in any way involve the personal or pecuniary interests of the parties, that those who form an hypothesis before they come to state, or even to examine the facts, are almost sure to bend the facts so as to suit that hypothesis as much as possible ; and if that has been found invariably the case in abstract questions, how much more must it be the case in a question of so much practical and personal interest, as that of the continuance or non-continuance of the sovereign power and commercial monopoly of the East India Company ?

The object of the following chapters of these volumes is not so much to set before the reader the grounds upon which the question of the renewal of the charter must come to issue, as to collect and condense from all the various channels through which it is scattered, a clear and concise view of the whole of India, as it is in itself, as it has been in its relations to other countries, and as it must be viewed with reference to the particular question which must soon occupy the public mind in this country. There is already no want of books upon India —perhaps there are few countries respecting which they are so numerous ; but there is no single one that gives a brief, yet general account, of the whole country ; and though very

many of them are written with ability, it is doubtful whether an equal number be entitled to the character of perfect impartiality,—to that freedom from bias either way, which is absolutely necessary, when the public are to form their opinions respecting a question of the greatest national importance. As those who have actually visited India, have, in general, done so under the auspices of the Company, in some way or other, and have written either with a feeling in favour of their patrons, or with one against them after the patronage has been withdrawn, the opinions which they contain are to be received with caution, though the facts that they record with regard to the country may be perfectly correct. In what is stated in the following chapters there is no ground for bias, either way, and therefore, it is hoped, no misrepresentation will be found.

In treating a subject of this kind, with that brevity which is necessary for a general and popular view, there are two difficulties, both of which it is not very easy to avoid. Each place presents itself under a variety of aspects: such as its situation, its climate, its productions, and its inhabitants. If each place is viewed in all of these, in the succession of the places, the whole is frittered down to a gazetteer-like detail, and the general aspect, and

the conclusions to be drawn from it, are lost. On the other hand, it is difficult to make the general views sufficiently distinct without a good deal of real and much more apparent repetition : and it is hardly possible so to begin as that there shall not be some things mentioned in the very first chapter, of which the explanations cannot be given till afterwards. These difficulties are not mentioned as any apology for the execution of these volumes, but as inseparable from the nature of a descriptive work, which, while it contains the necessary portion of description, is intended to be brief, and, to some extent, philosophical.

## CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION — NATURAL DIVISIONS—MOUNTAINS.

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## HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS.



THE general term INDIA is variously applied by different geographers ; and, in order to get a complete knowledge of all the relations of the British interests in the south of Asia, it will be necessary to use that term in its most

extended sense, including not only the portion of continental Asia to which the name of India now strictly and properly belongs, but also those other parts of the continent, and the islands, which wholly, or in part, belong to, or are under British influence, or are, in some way or other, connected with the British trade to the Indian seas. But as continental India is by far the most important portion, and as the others lie scattered over a comparatively wide extent, the description will be rendered more clear and brief, by first noticing India itself, and then the detached islands and settlements in a separate chapter.

Continental India is the central, largest, and, in every sense of the word, most important of the three peninsulas, in which Asia terminates southward. That to the west of it contains Arabia; and that to the east various states, and now some territories belonging to the East India Company; but as the southern part or termination of it is inhabited by the Malays, Malaya, that is, the Malay Peninsula, or country, is perhaps as convenient a name as any other. The name that it got from the older geographers was "India beyond the Ganges," which was by no means appropriate, as the Ganges is not the boundary of India, but, where it is an Indian river at all, flows wholly within



the territory. Neither does any part of that peninsula lie across the Ganges, with relation to India, but across the sea.

The position of India, and the nature of the surrounding surfaces, whether sea or land, require to be fully understood, in order to form a proper notion of those peculiarities of its climate, and that fertility of its soil, which have enabled it to support, through so long a course of ages, so dense a population, and which have, no doubt, in a great measure, tended to preserve it green and productive, amid the neglect and ruin which accompany internal wars, and under which the parts of Southern Asia which lie farther to the west have been changed from fertility to barrenness. The action of those surfaces will be explained when we come to notice the climate of India; but their relative positions with regard to each other should be borne in mind, as grand elements in the production of that.

India is an irregular four-sided figure, the sides of which are directed toward the south-east, north-east, north-west, and south-west. The south-west, south-east, and north-east sides are nearly, taking them on the average, straight lines of equal length, being each between one thousand four hundred and one thousand five hundred British miles. The north-west

side is shorter, being, on the straight line, little more than nine hundred miles. That makes the angle where the north-west and south-west sides meet, much less projecting than any of the others, and this makes the two approximate to one irregular western side. The largest line that can be drawn in India from north to south, is from a point in latitude  $35^{\circ} 30'$  north, and longitude  $73^{\circ}$  east, southwards, inclining to the east, to Cape Comorin, the southmost extremity, in latitude  $8^{\circ} 4'$  north, and longitude  $77^{\circ} 45'$  east. The length of this line is, in round numbers, about one thousand nine hundred miles, and that does not differ much from the greatest extent in latitude, as a portion of the boundary in the north lies nearly in the direction of east and west. The longest line that can be drawn in a direction across, and nearly at right angles to this, is from Cape Monze, at the west part of the delta of the Indus, in longitude about  $67^{\circ}$ , along the parallel of latitude  $25^{\circ}$  north, to a point near Silhet, in the east part of the Province of Bengal, in about longitude  $92^{\circ}$ ; and as the degree of longitude on this parallel may, in round numbers, be taken at sixty-three miles, the length of the line in round numbers will be about one thousand five hundred. If straight lines be drawn upon the maps, joining the respective points that terminate the length and breadth,



as above stated, those lines will, generally speaking, fall without the sides, so that the area of the four-sided figure which they form, will be greater than the surface of India. If we diminish the breadth by one hundred miles, the approximation will not be very wide of the truth : one thousand nine hundred miles in the one diagonal, and one thousand four hundred in the other, giving half the rectangle, or about one million three hundred thousand square miles for the whole of continental India. The surface has been computed from other data, some of which are, however, not much to be depended on ; and from these the content has been stated at one million two hundred and eighty thousand miles, so that, in neither case, considering the extent of the surface, and the utter impossibility of perfect accuracy, until a trigonometrical survey shall be extended over the whole, can the approximation be very far from the truth.

The four sides of India, as marked out by the points from which we have estimated the extent of the country, have each a different description of boundary, although two of them be washed by the sea, and the other two bounded by land. The Bay of Bengal, that washes the south-eastern shore, is not so broad as the Arabian sea, to the waves of which the south-west side is exposed ; and the countries that lie on the opposite shores of those seas, and

especially those that lie at their northern terminations, are of different characters. The arid lands of Arabia and Africa lie across the Arabian sea ; and they are, together, too broad for allowing the Atlantic, on the west of Africa, to have any perceptible influence upon the climate of India. Along the northern shore of the Arabian sea, the country is also, generally speaking, of a dry and sterile character. Great part of the south and centre of Persia consists of sandy desarts, and, indeed, desarts of that description extend from the western confines of India, with but little interruption, all the way to the most westerly point of Africa, a distance little short of five thousand miles. Thus, though there be a considerable extent of sea on the west of India, while the sea continues its boundary, the character of the land to the northward of that sea is calculated to prevent the supply of humidity, until the air is cooled by mountains of very considerable elevation. This will be found to account, in a satisfactory manner, for the sterile character of that portion of the country which lies immediately to the north-east of the Arabian sea.

The Bay of Bengal on the east is different. It is not anywhere so wide, and it narrows more toward its northern termination. The Malay Peninsula is very narrow toward the

south ; nowhere of very great breadth ; beyond it, with the exception of scattered islands, the broad Pacific extends to the shores of America, and the motion, both of the tidal wave and the atmospheric current, in that ocean, is westward, toward the Malay Peninsula. In general, that peninsula has a diversified surface, and abounds with forest trees and other vegetation. The land along the northern termination of the Bay of Bengal is also very different from that along the same coast of the Arabian sea. While the latter is an arid and unproductive country, the former is perhaps the most moist and luxuriant in vegetation in the world. From Balasore to Chittagong, a distance exceeding two hundred miles in a straight line, the country is one accumulation of mud swamps, covered with tall grasses, reeds, mangroves, and all manner of trees and plants that flourish in a marshy soil, so thickly matted together as to be impenetrable in most places, extending to a considerable distance inland, interspersed with the different streams and lagunes that are formed by the vast masses of water discharged by the Ganges and the Brahmapootra, and proof against all the heat and drought of a Bengal summer,—experiencing in fact only the falling of rain in torrents at one season of the year, and the raising of the water by evaporation,

like the steam of a mighty cauldron, at another. These circumstances tend to give the portion of India that lies north-west of the Bay of Bengal, a very different character from that which lies north-east of the Arabian sea.

The land boundaries have also their difference of character, and of influence upon the countries which they inclose. It has been mentioned that the north-west one toward the sea is desert. As it recedes inland, it becomes, in some places, better ; but it is nowhere of great elevation ; neither is the adjoining country one from which any quantity of rain can come. The only portions of water in that direction, which could have any influence upon the climate and fertility of north-western India, are the Caspian Sea, and the Lake of Aral, and as air from them would have to pass over intervening mountains and deserts, it cannot bring any humidity to India.

The remaining, or north-east side of the country, from the termination of the low and swampy grounds near the Bay of Bengal, is formed by mountains, everywhere so high as nearly to deprive the air of humidity, and, in some places, of the stupendous altitude of more than five miles perpendicular above the level of the sea. This giant ridge stands upon the confines to all the humidity which the winds waft

from the Indian Ocean, by the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, and so returns it back in those magnificent rivers that water the northern parts of India. Those mountains have, therefore, much influence on the climate and fertility of the whole country.

Such are the position, the extent, and the boundaries of this celebrated region, in a view merely geographical, as they affect its statistics and its climate; but, on examining its position upon the map, one cannot help perceiving that, in regard to communication, and consequently commercial intercourse, its situation is most advantageous. The extremity of the Persian Gulf is at no great distance from the Mediterranean, and that of the Red Sea is still nearer; so that by both of these routes, the whole south of Europe is open to it, with a very small extent of land carriage. These were the channels of the ancient commerce with India; and they continued to be the only ones till the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese found the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. That passage forms a safe communication with the west of Africa and Europe, and the whole of the east of America. The passage round the Malay Peninsula forms, in like manner, a communication with the Oriental Islands, with the whole east of Asia, including the im-

portant countries of China and Japan, with the scattered islands in the Pacific, and with the whole western coast of the American continent. Both sides of the peninsular portion of India have easy, and almost equal, access to the eastern shore of Africa, to Arabia, and to the extensive continent of Australia. Nor are the communications toward the interior of Asia unworthy of notice. The distance to the Caspian Sea is not very great, and it is facilitated by the fact that the slopes of the interposing mountains, both ways, are in the hands of the same people. When the Caspian is once reached, there is a navigation through Russia, which may be extended to all the ports of the Baltic. Thus, when we look at the situation of India in a commercial point of view, we find that it is central among the nations ; and, in the hands of a government that could concentrate its strength and wield its resources, it might obviously be made to combine the north, the south, the east, and the west. But India has never yet been a country of adventure, and trade with it has generally been carried on in the vessels of others, who in early times had to advance money to the artists, and wait till the commodities which they desired were prepared. In principle the case is the same still ; but in practice it is altered : as what used to be done by the indi-



vidual trader after his arrival, is now done by agents—perhaps the expense of those agents may be among the reasons why the profits upon Indian commerce are so small now, compared with what they were when the British first embarked in the trade. When, in a subsequent chapter, we come to enumerate the leading productions and disposable commodities of India, we shall be better able to estimate the value of those channels of communication that have just been enumerated.

The natural divisions of India may, in a great measure, be arranged in the position of the boundaries. From the centre of the vast chain of mountains that form the land boundaries, two principal rivers have their origin: the Indus, which flows toward the Arabian Sea, near the western boundary; and the Ganges, which flows toward the Bay of Bengal, along the foot of the mountains, whose summits form the boundary. The course of the Indus, at first, among the mountains, is very winding; and the latter part is very much interspersed by deserts, so that the name of the Valley of the Indus can hardly be chosen as descriptive of the whole region through which that river flows. In the upper country there are many valleys, and in the lower there are not, strictly speaking, any valleys at all, but dreary wastes of sand,

with here and there a miserable village, where the people have to draw their scanty supply of brackish water from a depth of hundreds of feet. This desert stretches north-eastward into the central part of northern India, until it be met by the tributary streams of the Ganges, and terminates in the fertile grounds upon their banks. The Valley of the Ganges is more continuous, and better defined; and, with the exception of that of the Amazon, in South America, it is perhaps the most extensive valley on the face of the globe, while in fertility and population it exceeds every other. The whole length, from the mountains where the river has its remotest source, to the shore of the Bay of Bengal, is not less than one thousand miles, and the average breadth (as the breadth varies a great deal) may be taken at four hundred miles; so that this fine valley contains a surface of four hundred thousand square miles, the greater part of which is susceptible of cultivation of some sort or other, and much is fertile in an extreme degree. The north-eastern side of it is well defined, being formed by the secondary ridge of mountains, which runs parallel to the great central chain of the Himalaya, and is separated from that by the long, narrow, and elevated valley of Nepâl. But though the mountains on this side present one general line,



It must not be supposed that that line is one continuous and unbroken barrier, along the whole extent of the valley. Long ridges of mountains always consist of smaller ones placed across the direction of the principal, with valleys between them for the discharge of the rivers, and minor dells across these again for the discharge of the brooks and torrents. Thus the south-western slope of the mountains which form the north-east side of the Valley of the Ganges, is composed of secondary ridges, in general lying north-east and south-west, and from these the branches of the Ganges that fall in upon the eastern side, collect their waters. The western boundary of the valley is less definite. From the sources of the river to Patna, about four hundred miles, in a straight line, from the sea, it forms a sort of triangle, with the base on the Ganges, and the apex about five hundred miles to the westward, nearly on the same parallel with the mouth of the Indus, the north-west side skirting along the desert, and the south being formed by a cross ridge, which at that part of India extends, though in a very irregular line, from very near the bank of the Ganges, all the way to the Arabian Sea, in the Peninsula of Gujerat. Below this, the western portion of the valley is much narrower, not above one hundred miles in extent; and some of the remote branches of the

Ganges, alternate with those of other rivers, on the other sides of the elevated ridges that run toward the eastern sea. About one hundred miles below Patna, another cross ridge comes close to the river; and below that, all the way to the sea, there is an extent of country considerably flat. The countries on the Indus, the central desert, and the Valley of the Ganges, as they have been now noticed, comprise the whole of India, north of a line drawn from the Gulf of Cutch, eastward of the mouth of the Indus, to the mouth of the Ganges. This portion comprises that which is usually called India Proper, or Hindûst'han Proper, on the east, and the boundary of the Afghans in the north-west,—a part of which territory, as it at present exists, lies within the natural boundary of India, and is watered by the Indus and its branches,—while another portion lies to the north of the mountain boundary, and is watered by streams that flow north-west toward the Lake of Aral.

In the peninsular portion of India, that which lies to the south of a line drawn from the Gulf of Cutch to the Ganges, natural divisions are not so easily pointed out. In the part previously noticed, it has the features of part of a vast continent, features which are nowhere rivalled in their character, and, when once pointed out, they can neither be misun-

understood nor forgotten. The ridge of mountains which gives rise to the great rivers of Northern India, may be regarded as the most elevated in Central Asia. Of the country which lies immediately to the north of their giant summits, not much indeed is known, though, from the little that is known, it may be concluded that it declines eastward in the direction of China, and northward to the Altaian mountains on the confines of Siberia, which latter are about a thousand miles north of the Himalaya, and of very inferior elevation. That country is elevated, and in part at least, it consists of sandy deserts; there must therefore be a reaction between it and the Indian mountains. Indeed the whole of the grand features of India, north of the line alluded to, prove that it must be connected with the central action of the continent.

The southern or peninsular part partakes more of the nature of an island: its features are not so bold; it is exposed to the action of no land, save the portion of India to the north, and therefore it must be more affected by local causes; and the difference of its climate and productions must depend chiefly upon the diversity of its own surface, and the difference of its position and aspect with regard to the sea. Its peculiar features are these:—From

the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna, in latitude about  $16^{\circ}$ , the east coast lies nearly in a straight line, in the direction of north-east and south-west. Several rivers of considerable size empty themselves into the Bay of Bengal along this line of coast; but between their outlets there are hills upon or near the coast; so that this part of India may be regarded as forming one great oval basin, the greatest length of which is from north-east to south-west, and of which the southern portion approaches near to the Arabian Sea, but is divided from it by high land. From the embouchure of the Krishna, a very irregular mountain barrier extends southward, at a varying distance from the coast, being at some places less than fifty miles from it, and at other places more than a hundred. The space between that mountain barrier and the sea is, for the most part, sandy and barren. A portion of it is usually styled the Coromandel coast. The mountain barrier gets the name of the Eastern Ghauts; but that name signifies the passes between the mountains, and not the mountains themselves. This mountain barrier is not very elevated, the highest points not exceeding three thousand feet above the level of the sea; but some parts of it are exceedingly rugged. It is interrupted at some places,

y breaks, through which the rivers from the interior of the Peninsula are discharged; and toward Cape Comorin, in the southern extremity, its situation is nearest to the western shore.

The elevated country within the mountain barrier gets the name of *Balaghaut*,—above the *Ghauts* (literally, above the passes, or *gates*), in opposition to the country between the mountains and the sea, which gets the name of *Payeenghaut*, or below the *gates*. The name of *Balaghaut* is given to the whole inland country from the river Ganges to Cape Comorin. From Cape Comorin another mountain barrier runs, parallel to the western shore, northward, for an extent of about nine hundred miles. It is nearer to the coast, higher, and less interrupted than the other, and gets the name of the Western Ghauts. The termination toward the north is near the Gulf of Cambay, and there, for a short distance, the general slope of the country is toward the west, where the valley of the river Nerbudda is formed between the elevation already alluded to as dividing Southern from Northern India, and the north boundary of the oval basin of which mention has been made, as sending its rivers to the Bay of Bengal. About 13° latitude the eastern and western Ghauts are con-

nected by a cross ridge, which lies in the direction of east and west; and the country does not immediately slope down to the north or the south of this ridge, but forms a table land, of considerable extent and elevation.

North of the Gulf of Cambay, the peninsula of Gujerat, beautifully diversified with hill and dale, extends toward the Gulf of Cutch. To the north of the latter Gulf, and extending northward to the great central desart, there is a very dreary marsh, the Rinn, measuring about two hundred and fifty miles in length, and seventy at its greatest breadth. Nothing can be more dreary than this portion of India. In the dry season it presents nothing but one glaring surface of crystallized salt, apparently firm and dry, though unpleasant and even painful to cross; but there are holes and quicksands below, which are full of danger. When the rains set in, this melancholy surface becomes covered with water, which melts the salt into a dirty brine, so that it is not easy to say at which season its appearance is the most revolting. This dreary salt marsh, as well as the desart to the north-east of it, is included in the northern or continental part of India.

It may save a longer recapitulation afterwards, to mention, in a single sentence, the natural divisions of the southern part of India.



The whole of the west coast, from Cape Comorin, presents a bold front to the sea, and the western Ghauts, which are very near the shore, rise sometimes to the height of at least six thousand feet, and their western slope, with the stripe of land between them and the sea, is called the Malabar coast. The country, for a very considerable distance inland, opens to the west, from the Gulf of Cambay, along the course of the river Nerbuddah; the hilly peninsula of Guzerat, follows on the north; and then the Gulf of Cutch, with the salt marsh of the Rinn beyond. The east coast presents to the Bay of Bengal an irregular line of hills, of less elevation than the Ghauts on the west; they begin to the westward of the most westerly mouth of the Ganges; are interrupted at the middle; approach the coast near Madras, where the centre forms a table land; farther south they recede westward; and in the vicinity of Cape Comorin, there is only one ridge of mountains, with the greatest portion of land on the eastern side. So that, with the exception of the portions mentioned on the west coast, this part of India contains the hilly district, south-west of the Ganges; the valleys of the central rivers forming a basin thence south to the table land; the sandy coast of Coromandel; the table land; and low



coast to the south-east, opposite the island of Ceylon.

The chief circumstances arising from this disposition of natural divisions, that will affect the climate, fertility, and healthiness of the country, are the opposition that the continuous ridges, such as the Ghauts, present to the periodical winds, and the rain or drought by which those winds may be found to be accompanied ; the places where periodical winds may meet or oppose each other ; and the difference of elevation above the level of the sea. It only remains, in this chapter, to give a more detailed account of the mountains, of which the chief positions have been already pointed out.

In doing this, it will be most convenient to begin in the north-west, where the great dividing ridge, between the northern and the southern waters, enters that part of the Afghan territory, which is naturally included within the Indian barrier, although that territory is not yet under the influence of the East India Company. Upon the map of Asia, this ridge of mountains may be traced, with some interruptions, of pass, desert, and table land, from the Dardanelles, south of Constantinople, to Behring's Strait, opposite the north-west of America. Indeed, the pass of the Dardanelles

is only an interruption, and, there is some reason to think, an interruption produced, during the present state of the globe, by the eruption of an immense body of water, that once covered a considerable part of the valley of the Danube, of Russia, and of Siberia, and united the Caspian, the Sea of Azoph, and the Black Sea into one mass of water. Therefore, the mountains under consideration are part of one great mountain formation, that girdles the old continent, from the south-west of Europe to the north-east of Asia, and is therefore the longest upon the globe.

As to India, however, it may be reckoned as beginning at Hindû Cosh, a great snowy summit, about seventy miles to the north-west of the city of Cabul, in Afghanistan, the altitude of which has not, so far as we have been able to ascertain, been measured. This peak is in latitude about  $35^{\circ}$ , and longitude about  $68\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east. Thence, the chain stretches eastward, bending sometimes to the north, and sometimes to the south, but on the average nearly upon a parallel, to about longitude  $76^{\circ}$ , or for nearly four hundred British miles; and during the whole of that extent, it gets the name of Hindû Cosh, or the Indian Caucasus. Its summit forms the "water-shed," between the rivers that run north-west, and those that de-

scend to the Indus, during the greater part of the distance,—there being only two passages for rivers, one for the Kaushkar, about longitude  $71^{\circ}$ , and another for the Indus, about longitude  $75^{\circ}$ , both of which rivers flow toward the south. Those mountains are of great elevation, some of them being estimated at more than 20,000 feet, and the snow remains upon them throughout the whole season; but the barrier that they present, and the strong reflection of the mid-day sun from their sides, give to the valleys a very high temperature, and crops ripen and flocks are fed, and there are forests at an elevation which, even on the Andes, under the equator, would be too cold for being productive or even habitable. In the valleys, the thermometer shows an elevation of  $113^{\circ}$ ; but in the light dry air of that Alpine region, that great heat does not appear to be injurious, or even disagreeable. The principal river that drains those mountains, to the west of the Indus, is the Cabul, which joins the Indus at the celebrated passage of Attock.

About the  $76^{\circ}$  of longitude, the chain bends to the south-east, and receives the name of Himalaya, or “the dwelling of snow,” to which it is unusually entitled. Among high peaks of the Himalaya, in about latitude  $31^{\circ}$ , and longitude  $81^{\circ}$ , the Indus and its principal tributary,

he Sutledj, and the Ganges, and its principal branch, the Jumnah, rise, at no great distance from each other, nor yet far from the source of the Sanpoo, which rolls its stream through the mountain country of Thibet. Some of the mountains near the source of those rivers, have been ascertained to have an elevation exceeding 22,000 feet; but they are by no means the highest in the chain, though the point is, of course, the summit level of all the valleys of the rivers. At this part, the breadth of the chain is not great,—the extent, from what may be considered as the termination of the plains of India, to the commencement of those of Thibet, in passing northward, does not exceed eighty or one hundred miles.

It is after they have passed the sources of the great rivers, that those mighty mountains rise up, in all their grandeur, between the sources of the rivers Gogra and Gunduck, from longitude  $81^{\circ}$  to  $83^{\circ}$ . There, there is a succession of summits, ten or more, the altitudes of which have been measured, and each of them is considerably higher than Chimborazo, in the Andes: while Dhawalaghiri, or the white mountain, raises its head to the enormous elevation of more than 27,000 feet. These mighty masses are formed into an array across the direction of the chain, and divided, for a con-

siderable way by deep ravines. So far as has been observed, there is a peculiarity of formation common to them all ; and it is a formation which, from the motion of the only winds that can act upon the mountains, those that come loaded with rain, we would be led to expect. The southern sides, those that are turned toward the Bay of Bengal, and of course pelted by the heavy rains which the south winds bring from that quarter, are smooth, and worked into something like *débris* and decomposition : while the opposite sides, which are sheltered from the fury of the elements, present all the perpendicular cliffs and rugged forms of the original rock.

Along the whole valley of the Ganges, those mountains retain a sublime elevation ; though, as they advance toward the south-east, they become rather less lofty, and also less continuous. In absolute elevation, the secondary mountains that divide Nepâl from the great valley, are but trifling as compared with these ; while the little lateral elevations, which stretch into the valley between the numerous rivers, and which are found so convenient for pasturage when the low lands are flooded, hardly deserve the name of hills. Beyond the swampy lands on the banks of the Brahmapootra, and the forests in which that river is supposed to

have its source, the great chain of the Himalaya has not been traced, though it is by no means unlikely that their ramifications may extend across China to the eastern sea, and down the Malay peninsula to the Strait of Malacca.

Vast as is the elevation of the Himalaya, one would be tempted to suppose that they are secondary to some more mighty formation, that once existed, or that still may exist, in the unexplored country to the north and west of Thibet. It is true, that, however skilful or scientific the observers may have been, their observations have been too few and hurried for any thing like a perfect knowledge of the structure of a ridge of mountains so extended and so elevated; and farther, as the ascent has not been nearer to the most elevated than twelve thousand feet, which is in itself the altitude of no inconsiderable mountain, there can be nothing but conjecture as to what may be the composition of those peaks that are clad with enduring snow; but the report is, that the principal rocks of which the Himalaya are composed, are not granite, in the mass, as is the case in the great ridges of other parts of the world; but that they are gneiss, with veins of granite. Veins of granite intersecting gneiss would be something new in geology, and go



far to unsettle the existing theories, which, after all that has been observed and done, may not be quite true. But we have been accustomed to look upon granite as the elder-born of rocks, and gneiss as the first product of its decomposition: and therefore what have been described as veins of granite, may be the primitive rock appearing through the coating of gneiss, with which it is encrusted, upon the lower part of the mountains; and when observers, that have more leisure, and views more expressly scientific, shall ascend a little higher, it may be that they shall find the composition of the Himalaya not to differ from that of the Alps or the Andes. To what extent those great mountains may be metalliferous, is also a matter for further investigation. Gold dust has been found, though only in small quantity, but probably in as great abundance as in the streams which flow from those parts of the Andes in which gold in the *lode* has been found. If, however, its native situation were found to be, comparatively, as elevated in those mountains as it is in the Andes, the working of it would, in all probability, be less profitable; and thus whoever may have the control of India, had, in all probability, better attend to the agriculture of the Valley of the Ganges, than seek for the precious metals among the summits of "the



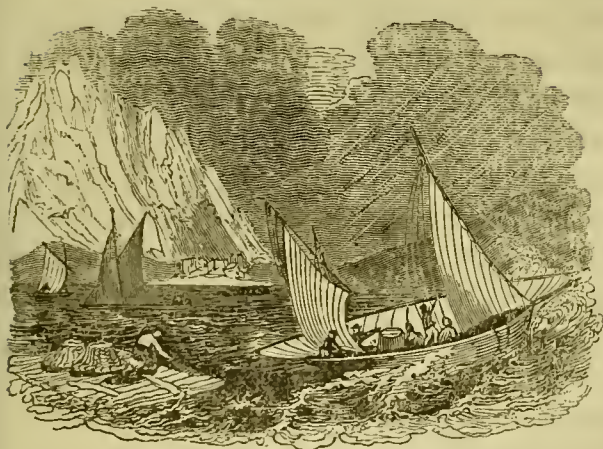
abitation of snow." After all the fables of the ancients, about gold dust bubbling up in the fountains of India, and being collected into heaps by the ants (they would much sooner collect dead flies and beetles), there remains a sort of evidence to prove that they knew there was gold dust in these mountains. Now, as the part of India with which they were best acquainted, was that which lies on the Indus, and as we have no proof that their knowledge of what they called the ridge of the Emodus, extended anything like so far as that part of the Himalaya which contains the more lofty summits, we are led to conclude that their gold, whether it bubbled up in fountains, or was obtained, as is usually the case, by washing the sand of the rivers,—whether it was accumulated by ants, or by the industry of human beings,—was, in all probability, obtained from that part of the Hindû Cosh, which lies to the north of the Indian part of the Afghan territory. Nothing, in short, appears to shew that mining for gold would be a more profitable occupation in India than it has been in America, where the profit has not been obtained from the mine, but from the privations of the miner, who has had slavery and starvation in the digging of it.

After the Himalaya, there are hardly any other mountains in India that will bear being

mentioned, as forming any thing like characteristic general features ; and the hilly ranges that there are, will be better explained in treating of the sources of the rivers, or the topography of the different districts. Those minor elevations are, however, sometimes so steep and wild, that they cannot be crossed without the greatest difficulty ; and there are, occasionally, detached masses of rock in countries which are otherwise nearly level. These are most frequent toward the west coast, where the natives constructed forts that were of great strength, before the introduction of the modern methods of attack.

## CHAPTER III.

SHORES, ISLANDS, AND RIVERS:



BOMBAY HARBOUR, NORTHERN PART.

FEW countries, of equal extent, have their shores less interesting than India, in respect either of bays or of islands: though, in as far as internal communication is concerned, the rivers afford ample compensation, though these are

by no means so open to the sea as much smaller streams in other countries. This comparative inaccessibility of the interior from the shores, is, in a great measure, owing to the great fertility of the land, and the heavy rains; as the former accumulates great quantities of loose earth, and the latter wash it towards the sea, by the reaction of which it is thrown back, and forms a bar, a delta, or a portion of new land along the shore, according to the directions and relative forces of the sea and land floods. A considerable extent of the lower valleys of the two great rivers, has, in all probability, been formed in this way, and so have some parts at least of the flat lands on the east or Bay of Bengal side of the peninsula—as the soil is strongly impregnated with salt, and contains a number of marine remains.

The east coast is remarkable for the deficiency of natural harbours. Throughout the whole line, from the most easterly mouth of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, there is not one harbour for the accommodation of large vessels, and hardly a roadsted where they can ride in safety during the south-west monsoon.

On the north-east angle of the bay, there is a tolerable creek or harbour, at Islamabad, on the Karnaphali, or Chittagong river; but a vessel cannot easily leave it during the south-

vest monsoon ; and the country around, though well wooded, is swampy and pestilent. The whole coast of the delta of the Ganges, from the eastern or principal mouth to the Hoogly, which leads up to Calcutta, is one mass of mud banks, which are continually shifting, and among which there is seldom a channel that a vessel can trust. The whole of that coast is, therefore, useless for the purposes of navigation, or indeed for anything else, unless that the thick jungle with which it is covered prevents the soil from being washed away by the tide. In tropical countries, vegetation always appears to be an important agent in the formation of lands, where there are the joint actions of a land flood and the sea. When the river is flooded, those jungles act both as a dam and as a filter ; in the one character they retain the water over the surface of the lands above, where it deposits a new soil, that adds greatly to the fertility ; and in the other, they retain the floating mud and leaves, and prevent even the softest soil from being washed away. Even the Hoogly, which is the only mouth of the Ganges into which vessels of burden can enter, is both a difficult and a dangerous navigation ; difficult on account of the number of banks, and those continually shifting ; and dangerous because of the violence with which the river

flows downward when flooded, and the *bore* upward when the river is low. The difficulty begins at some distance from the land, at two banks, which are called the east and west sea reefs, which like all the other banks in this part of the bay, frequently alter their form and position. At Balasore, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 42'$ , there is a roadstead, and used to be a harbour, to which there was a considerable resort; but the harbour has been, to a very considerable extent, choked up. At this point, what may be called the north shore of the Bay of Bengal terminates—a shore which, for inutility for commercial purposes, forms a striking contrast to the entrances of most great rivers. But the riches to which the single opening of the Hoogly leads, and the noble stream of the Ganges itself, after the delta has been passed, more than compensate for the unpromising approach. Even the muddy shore, all pestilent as it is, is of some value in a commercial point of view—salt is manufactured by working the mud, and allowing the moisture to evaporate by the heat of the sun.

South of Balasore, the coast again becomes a salt jungle, over which the spring tides flow, and where of course there is no harbour, as the rivers are discharged by trifling openings, and, in some cases, ooze through the sand. On



his part of the coast, between the province of Orissa, and that of the Circars, there is a sort of bay, the Chilka Lake, which, except some narrow and shallow openings, has a low stripe of sandy ground between it and the sea. The greater part of it is shallow; and it can be navigated only by flat-bottomed boats, that draw very little water. Toward the north it is deeper, and rendered picturesque by a number of rocky islands; but as the depth does not extend to the sea, it is of little use for commercial purposes. A great deal of salt is, however, obtained from the shallows.

From the vicinity of the Chilka Lake to the mouths of the Godavery, the coast is of a bolder character; but there are no harbours, nor any safe anchorage during the south-west monsoon, until Coringa Bay be arrived at. That bay is in latitude  $16^{\circ} 49'$ , at the northern mouth of the Godavery. There is a bar across the entrance; but it is soft mud, so that a vessel may be forced through it, and when that has been accomplished, the bay is safe; indeed it is, with the exception of Masulipatam, a little farther south, near the mouth of the Krishna, the only place on the east coast of the peninsula, where there is smooth water during the south-west monsoon. None of these places; have, however, depth of water for admitting



vessels of more than two hundred or three hundred tons burden.

Upon the coast of Coromandel, further to the south, the surf breaks with great violence, and there is no place where a ship can find shelter. At Madras, the British capital of this part of India, ships cannot touch the shore, and very frequently they can hold no communication with it. During the months of October, November, and December, they cannot even remain in the roads with safety; nor can they, generally speaking, land in boats of European build at any season, the surf being so violent that any craft that does not yield to it is broken to pieces. The communication is usually made by country boats, and where the surf is very violent, by catamarans; and no ships attempt to land passengers, unless the signal from the beach-house warns them that it is safe. In favourable weather the ships' boats anchor just outside the surf, where the communication is continued to the land by the country boats. These are constructed of three planks, sewed together, with straw in the seams, so that they bend easily. Even with these light and buoyant vessels, a great deal of experience and determination are required, or they would be broken by the foaming surges which follow each other with great velocity and violence. The com-

leader of the boat stands up to beat time, which he does both by stamping and by roaring, to encourage the rowers. When the boat is in the trough of the surge, they pull backwards against the approaching ridge, in order to mount upon it before it breaks, and while they are upon its crest, it carries them to the shore with great velocity. When it breaks, they pull violently forward, in order to keep the way that they have made during the reflux; and the moment that the next approaching surge turns the water, they pull backwards again. Thus they keep advancing upon the crest of every successive wave, and pulling back a little in each interval, till they get so near the shore that the final surge flings them and their bark upon the dry land, along with the spray. It is by a passage of this kind that Europeans, of whatever sex, make a landing at Madras.

The catamaran is a still more desperate matter. The catamaran is formed of two or three logs of very light timber, lashed together, and having a cross-piece lashed across the stern. Two rowers, with paddles, embark, and literally bear their slender vessel through the surge. They are often unshipped, and dashed to a distance, but they are very dexterous in swimming to regain their places; and, though accidents do happen, they are by no means so

frequent as one would be led to suppose. The principal object of this singular and dangerous navigation is the conveyance of letters; but they also carry small quantities of provisions. A tall cap, plaited of the dry leaves of the palm-tree, so close as to be completely water-tight, is the place where they carry their letters; and if they have not the misfortune to meet with sharks, which are numerous in those seas, when the surf dashes them from the catamaran, they generally carry their despatches safe and uninjured by the water. Mere wages are not found enough to stimulate those adventurous navigators, more especially when they employ the catamaran as a life-boat, a use for which it is well adapted; for on those occasions they are rewarded with honorary medals. This violent surf must, of course, have a powerful action upon the shore, and it is supposed to have made considerable encroachments at some places, and left banks at others. Near the village of Mahabalipuram, about five-and-thirty miles to the south of Madras, where there are some excavated temples and rock sculptures, in a state of considerable preservation, the natives say that the surf breaks over the foundations of a great city, of the same name with the village, of which those sculptures were appendages. The existence of these

antiquities would lead us to the supposition, that here once had existed there a place of greater importance than any of which the ruins are now met with on land, and, from the distance at which the surf begins to break, the bottom must be shallow a considerable way off.

Though the surge probably beats with more violence at Madras, than at any point farther to the south, yet there is no harbour which vessels can enter in all the distance to Cape Comorin. The roadstead at Pondicherry is safer, and there are times at which ships' boats can land. Palk's Strait, between the south-east coast and Ceylon, is full of banks, and the opposite coast is low and sandy. The rise of the tide is very trifling, not more than two or three feet.

Cape Comorin is low and level; but, at the distance of not more than half a mile inland, there is the mountain of Komari, the termination of the Ghauts, rising to the height of about four thousand feet. It is from this mountain that the southern point of India takes its name: its position is, latitude  $8^{\circ} 4'$  north, longitude  $77^{\circ} 45'$  east. On glancing back at the particulars which have been stated, it will be perceived that the deficiency of accommodation for shipping, upon the eastern side of the Indian peninsula, is much greater than in any

other fertile country with which we are acquainted ; and though many of the rivers are, during the rainy season, of sufficient violence and depth for inland navigation, there is some bar or impediment between each of them and the sea.

The west coast, from Cape Comorin to Cape Monze, west of the Indus, is of a very different character. It abounds in small bays, contains a number of commodious harbours, and the tide rises, in some places, as high as forty feet. From Cape Comorin northward, the hills are at no great distance from the coast ; but there are fertile valleys between them ; and the ports of Cochin and Paniany admit vessels of considerable burden. Between these two places there is a sort of inland navigation, formed by a series of salt lakes, which are protected from the sea by an irregular sandy reef. Calicut, a little farther to the north, is situated on a river, which can be ascended for a distance of one hundred miles in boats, and a very considerable trade is carried on with Arabia. The coast of Malabar extends from a little beyond  $10^{\circ}$  to about  $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  latitude, and besides Paniany and Calicut, contains the commodious port of Cannanore. It is from these ports that the name Malabar, which strictly belongs only to a very limited portion of the coast, has come to be applied to it generally. Northward, to about latitude  $19^{\circ}$ ,

the coast still retains the same hilly character, though with occasional salt lakes and sands. Till lately it was very much infested by pirates, and there are a few still; but, since the British influence predominated over the little states on the coast, and the people were released from the tyranny of the sovereigns of the Mysore in the interior of the table land, the atrocities which once disgraced this part of India have very much diminished.

At  $18^{\circ} 56'$  latitude is situated Bombay, the British capital of western India, and the best harbour which the British possess in those seas. The harbour, or bay, is formed between the main land and the islands of Salsette, Bombay, Elephanta, and Curanga. Salsette is eighteen miles long, and Bombay ten, and they are united by a causeway. The entrance to the bay within is accessible, by small ships only through the north, or Salsette channel; but by the south, it is navigable for ships of any burden; and the height of the tide, which is about seventeen feet at springs, adapts the place well for the building and repairing of large vessels.

North of Bombay the land is more of a champaign character, and gets so low near the coast as to be flooded during the rainy season. The chain of the Ghauts is entirely intercepted by the source of the river



Tuptee, on which the city of Surat is situated, and which traverses, in a direction of nearly from east to west, more than two-thirds of the breadth of the country. To the north of the Tuptee there is a ridge of hills, which separate the north side of the valley of that river from the valley of the Nerbudda; but they do not approach close to the coast, which continues low as far as the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay. That gulf lies on the east side of the peninsula of Gujerat, and extends about one hundred and fifty miles inland. Toward the town of Cambay, which is situated at its northern extremity, it becomes very shallow, a great part of it being left dry when the tide ebbs. As the projection of the Gujerat intercepts the course of the tide, the current flows into the Gulf of Cambay with very great velocity, and rises to the height of forty feet. It rushes in with so much violence as to occasion considerable danger. Nor is the part of the bottom which is left dry, when the tide ebbs, safe, for it is full of mud-banks and quicksands.

The coasts of the Gujerat are rather high on all the sides that present themselves to the sea; but the land at the head of the Gulf of Cutch, by which the Gujerat is bounded on the north, is very low, and communicates with one mouth of the Indus. There are some hills in



Dutch, and, what is not very common in India, they are said to be of volcanic formation; but the coast towards the gulf is low, and the district is everywhere surrounded by water or by salt marshes. The delta of the Indus, which closes the line of the west coast, is composed of sand banks, of much more sterile appearance than the sunderbunds of the Ganges in the Bay of Bengal. Such are the shores of India. In a geographical point of view, they do not offer much; nor does it appear, though in that respect they have not been very minutely examined, that they offer much more to the geologist. In the warm and humid air of India, there is a decomposing power which soon reduces to mud the exposed surface of the hardest rock, so that the boldest shores present the appearance of ruins.

But when we turn to the rivers of India, the case alters; and, with but few exceptions, the name of the Punjaub, or Land of Streams, which the natives apply to a small portion of the north, is descriptive of the whole country. The great rivers of India too, have this peculiarity, that the greater part of them “lie upon levels,” or have so gentle declivities that they may be rendered available for the purposes of internal communication; and are, at all times, a sort of canals of Nature’s making, and while

they are flooded, they have the character of inland seas. Most of the great rivers of the north, and they water a full half of all India, have acquired the greater part of their magnitude before they leave the great mountain ridge and enter the Indian territory ; and, after that, though there be degrees of rapidity in their currents, there are none of them that present a velocity that can be looked upon as an obstacle to navigation : while the principal ones possess a depth of water capable of floating very large vessels. In the central parts, too, though the streams be of smaller dimensions, their general characters are nearly the same. Their branches are collected among hills in the early parts of their courses, and they flow, through by far the greater part of their lengths, across extensive valleys, with moderate velocity ; and, instead of tearing up and destroying the country in the rainy season, as much smaller rivers would do, were their courses more confined, they, almost without exception, overflow the country. It is to this, more than to any thing else, that India is indebted for its great natural fertility. The rains in India are as violent as those in southern Africa, and the alternating droughts are as severe ; but the rivers in southern Africa are rapid ; therefore they have cut into the solid strata to such a depth

hat, instead of watering the soil, they drain it. In the mountain districts they cut the fissures which, but for the deep chasm worn by the river, would produce springs; they exhaust the water through the porous strata under the soil; and when the heavy rain and the flood come, they sweep the soil and produce to the sea one common ruin. Hence in southern Africa, from the structure of the surface, both the heat and the humidity—which, were they to remain together and act in concert, would make that one of the most fertile countries upon the face of the earth—conspire to make it a desert. Before the heat comes, the moisture is altogether gone; and when the moisture again returns, the heat has burnt up everything, except those roots in the soil which can bear the extreme of drought. In such a country, too, there are no secondary rains, no clouds formed by evaporation from the surface of the land, and continuing to fall in refreshing showers, after the rain clouds, which the periodical winds bring from the sea, are exhausted.

But the form of the surface of India secures for it the opposite advantages. In those places to which the irrigation of the flood extends, there is an annual deposition of new soil, at the same time that the alluvion, to the whole of its depth, which is in some places very great, is

saturated with moisture, which continues to have a beneficial influence upon the vegetation during a considerable time after the rains have ceased. The secondary rains, too, which arise from the evaporation of the flooded lands, in so far tend to water the adjoining districts ; and thus, in as far as fertility is concerned, the level courses of the great Indian rivers may be considered as very advantageous. There is yet another way in which this annual soaking of the surface, with the deposition of matter upon it, contributes to the wealth of India ; and that is by the formation of saltpetre, or nitrate of potass, which is one of the staple products of the Valley of the Ganges. That salt is of great use in the arts, especially in the manufacture of gunpowder ; and the natural circumstances that conspire to its formation in the Valley of the Ganges are almost the same as those that are brought together in the formation of an artificial nitre-bed. Animal matter for producing the nitrogen is contained in the accumulated mud, the number of small animals that perish during the rains being almost incredible. The waters also bring abundance of lime, which assists in the formation of the acid ; and the decaying vegetable remains furnish the potass. By this means a fresh supply may be obtained from the same soil every season ; and thus a

very valuable article of commerce is furnished directly by the flooding of the rivers, which, but for that operation, would be washed down to the sea.

The river to which the larger ones of northern India bear the greatest resemblance is the Nile, in Egypt; and we find that it, like them, has preserved the fertility of the land, which it more immediately irrigates by its floods. The inhabitants of both countries appear to have been aware of this from the remotest antiquity, as the rivers have a place in their mythologies. We are apt to pity the Hindû, when we hear of the divine honour that he pays to the sacred stream; but those very honours are a proof of the value of the river, however injudicious, or even absurd, the expression of gratitude for the enjoyment of them may be.

The Indus was the earliest known of all the Indian rivers. At the distance of nearly one thousand miles from its confluence with the Arabian Sea, it is a deep stream, seven or eight hundred feet across, and running with a rapid current, and vessels carrying two hundred tons may navigate its channel without the least interruption for more than seven hundred miles. The Indus receives the greater part of its supply of water in the upper part of its course. It resembles a great tree, the bole of which is

lofty, but without lateral branches, yet which extends its topmost ramifications over nearly one thousand miles, the distance between the most easterly and the most westerly of its sources extending probably to that measure in longitude.

The whole course of this great river has not been traced with sufficient care ; and the existing accounts of the lower part of it, after all its branches have been collected into one mighty flood, which rolls its waters rather unprofitably across a desert country, are a little contradictory. But they may have been all accurate enough at their respective dates, as the river appears often to shift its course in the loose and sandy ground. More than one thousand three hundred miles of the course of the Indus are known, and from the reports of the Chinese and Tartar inhabitants of the regions beyond the Hindû Cosh and the Himalaya, there is reason to suppose, that at the highest point where it has been seen by Europeans, the Indus has had a previous course among the mountains of between four hundred and five hundred miles, which will give it an entire length of nearly one thousand eight hundred miles. According to their accounts, the source of the Indus is in about  $31^{\circ} 30'$  latitude, and  $81^{\circ} 30'$  longitude, on the north or



Thibet side of the Cailas branch of the Himalaya. This branch separates from the other about latitude  $32^{\circ}$  and longitude  $77^{\circ}$ ; and, so far as has been examined, stretches south-east, parallel to it, and at no great distance, for about four hundred miles, having the upper valley of the Sutledj between the two ridges. The mountains there are lofty, some of them being estimated at more than twenty-five thousand feet in elevation; but both the ridges and the valley are narrow, as the reported source of the Indus is not more than seventy miles from the north-east part of the province of Delhi. In all probability a continuation of the Cailas ridge extends northward from the source of the Indus, and divides that country on the west, which, for want of a better name, has been called Little Thibet, from Thibet properly so called, on the east. The course of the Indus is supposed to lie northward, inclining a little to west, through that mountainous country, for a distance of fully three hundred miles, to Ladhak (or Leh), the capital of a Thibetian province of the same name, in latitude about  $34^{\circ} 9'$ , and longitude  $78^{\circ} 20'$ . At the town of Draus, about one hundred and twenty miles south-west of Ladhak, and about forty north of the summit of the Hindû Cosh, the Indus is said to receive another considerable stream. From Draus, where the



course of the Indus is known, it rolls onward for about one hundred miles south-west, without receiving any great accession of water: at the end of that distance it passes the defile in the great chasm of the mountains, about longitude  $75^{\circ}$ ; but its course is one hundred miles more, through a wild and mountainous country, and then fifty through lower hills before it reaches the plain of north-western India.

The course of the Indus has not been continuously traced through the upper country, neither is there any account of the opening by which it passes to the lower; but there is hardly an instance of a river of such length, and rolling so much water, passing through such a ridge of mountains; and, therefore, in a geographical point of view, the examination would be of considerable interest. One point is determined from what has already been observed: the country through which the Indus passes, both in the stream itself, and in the large branch which is said to join it from the north, about Ladhak, cannot be the arid and sterile desert that has sometimes been supposed. For at least one hundred and fifty miles of its course through the mountains, the Indus does not receive a single branch of any magnitude; the Abaseem, and the other streams which fall into it, on the south side of the mountains, above

Attock, are very trifling; and yet the river comes to Attock in the full swell of its flood, rising to the height of nearly forty feet above its level in the wet season, and converting a portion of the valley of Cuch, above Attock, into a temporary sea. For the fifty miles of its course through the plain, above Attock, the river expands into what may be regarded as a long and narrow lake, studded with many islands; but at the town of Attock, it contracts within a space of seven hundred and eighty feet, but is very rapid. At this point, just above the junction of the Cabul, which flows from the west, the Indus has been forded during the dry months; but that is looked upon as an exploit even here; and there is no other point between the gorge of the Hindû Cosh and the Arabian Sea, where even an elephant can pass without swimming.

The Cabul, though small in comparison with the Indus, is still a large river, draining the southern slope of the Hindû Cosh for nearly four hundred miles in longitude, and having one branch that extends nearly three hundred miles beyond the mountains. After the junction of the Cabul, the Indus receives no other large branch for many miles.

As the Indus, and, partially, the Cabul, receive their waters from the north side of the

Hindû Cosh, they are, of course, annually swollen by the melting of the snow upon those mountains, and also by the periodical rains.

It is probable that the valley of the Indus, above Attock, and also part of that of the Cabul, have, at some early period, been a lake, until the action of the water forced a passage through the hills which lie immediately to the south. Even at Attock the rivers are very impetuous when swollen, and their junction occasions a whirlpool which boats cannot approach without certain destruction. The Indian priests have invested the meeting of rivers with peculiar sanctity; but they do not, though it is probable that the early population of this part of the country was wholly Hindû, attach any sanctity to this most formidable junction; neither, indeed, do they honour the Indus as they do many rivers of very inferior magnitude. A few miles below Attock, the hills approach close to the Indus; its channel is narrowed to less than one hundred and fifty yards, and its depth and velocity are both very great. It winds with this violence through the hills for about sixty miles, in a deep channel during the dry season, but full to the banks in the rains, till it comes to the remarkable salt ridge of mountains which extends across the valley, north-west and south-east, for about two

hundred miles, in the average latitude of about  $33^{\circ}$ . As a passage through these is more easily formed than through the rocks, the course of the river becomes more broad and tranquil, though it is still deep, and the banks in the dry season elevated. The salt ridge terminates at Calabaugh, and thence to the ocean, the Indus flows over plains, generally in more than one channel, often shifting these in the rainy season, and inundating the country.

When it has reached the plain, the principal stream of the Indus, even when reduced by the separation of some smaller ones, is about three thousand feet in breadth, in those seasons when its volume is the least. In the pause which the Indus makes while passing the valley above Attock, and in the great length of its course that lies over a level country, having comparatively a barren surface, and being without much rain, we have sufficient reasons why its waters do not bring down fertile mud to the ocean, in the same manner as the Ganges; and why, notwithstanding the great length of its course, the quantity of its water, and the extent of its floods, nothing deserving the name of a fertile delta has been formed at its confluence with the sea. Some of the islands which are formed between its channels in the lower part of its course are rather fertile, and so are portions of

the plains which it irrigates ; but the prevailing character of the country on both sides of the Indus, for the last four hundred miles of its course, is sterility ; and the islands which have been formed by it in the ocean are composed chiefly of sand, which produces little, save hard wiry grass, similar to that which grows upon downs of sea-sand in most countries where these occur. The characteristic features of the valley of the Indus, as valuable in a practical point of view, are therefore, to be sought for in the upper valley, above the salt range.

One of the branches of the Indus, though inferior to that river in magnitude, yet perhaps contains more water than any river in Europe, and has its secondary branches so equally spread over a great extent of country, as to have occasioned the name of Punjaub, or “land of rivers,” to be given to it. These rivers discharge the rain which falls, and the snow which melts upon the mountains, from the pass by which the Indus enters the plains, to the lake of Rawan’s Head, on the confines of Thibet, in lat.  $81^{\circ}$ , a range of about five hundred miles. The united stream, by which the rivers of the Punjaub mingle with the tide of the Indus, is named the Punjnud, and it is composed of five rivers, which all rise in the mountains, and converge toward the south-west.

As the antients entered India by the ford of Attock, and traversed the plain of the Punjaub, toward the Ganges, those rivers were known and named by them. The first river, proceeding from the Indus eastward, is the Jhylum (the Hydaspes of the Greeks). This river has a course of about seven hundred and fifty miles. It rises in the north-east angle of the Hindû Cosh, just about the point where the chain of mountains begins to get the name of Himalaya, and first flows westward parallel to the mountains, through the beautiful little valley of Cachmere, and is not more than fifty miles from the Indus, at the point where it turns toward the south-west, and approaches the Punjaub. While passing through Cachmere, the Jhylum receives branches both from the north and the south, the vale of Cachmere having a secondary ridge of hills on the south of it, which indeed turn round by the west, approach the Hindû Cosh, and with those mountains surround the valley, except a winding passage through which the river finds its way. The appearance of Cachmere would lead to the supposition that it had been once a lake, which has been drained of its water by the river cutting a passage; and the appearance is corroborated by a local tradition. From Cachmere downwards, the average distance of the Jhylum from the Indus may be rated at about one hundred



miles; and after a course of about five hundred miles from its source, it unites with the Chinaub, the Acesines of the Greeks.

The Chinaub rises on the opposite side of the same summit that gives rise to the Jhylum, and flows south-west, with a tolerably straight course, to its junction with that river. As it comes from the snowy mountains with a straight direction, and an uniform declivity, the floods in it are strong, and its seasonal variations considerable. Like the Indus, the Chinaub receives its chief supply of water in the mountains, it being, to the north of Lahore, that is, about the middle of its course, from the source to the confluence with the Jhylum, nearly a mile and a quarter wide in the rainy season, at which period it runs onward with a velocity of more than five miles an hour. In the dry season its dimensions are small in comparison, the width being less than a quarter of a mile, and the current comparatively slow. There are many forests in the hilly country through which the first part of the course of the Chinaub lies, the produce of which is floated down the river. Although the Jhylum and this river flow for some time very near to each other, and consequently meet at a small angle, the union of these streams is attended with probably more violence than that of the Indus and the Cabul, for it has



attracted the particular notice of those who have recorded the successive invasions of India from the west. Where those rivers unite, the Chinaub may, on account of the comparative straightness of its course, be regarded as fifty miles shorter than the Jhylum, though in the season of the floods, it probably discharges a greater quantity of water.

About thirty miles below the junction of these rivers, and forty above the city of Moul-tan, their united current is joined by the third river of the Punjaub. That is the Ravey (Hydrastes) of the Greeks, called also Irvati, after Indra's elephant, in the Hindû mythology. The course of the Ravey is not so far to the eastward as that of either of the rivers last mentioned, and its quantity of water, and also the violence of its flood, are less. It does not, like them, rise in the great central chain of mountains, but in a secondary ridge, about sixty miles to the south-west; and, in all probability, though that part of the country has not been carefully explored, separated from them by a valley opening to the south, and containing a branch of the Chinaub. These secondary mountains lie nearly in the direction of the salt range that cross the bed of the Indus; and, though interrupted by the course of the other rivers, are probably a portion of the same.

Unless where it stagnates, the Ravey is nowhere much more than five hundred yards across, and in the dry season it does not exceed forty. United with the other two, however, the conjoined river rolls by the city of Moul-tan, and toward the Indus, a vast and rapid stream. This stream retains the name of Chinaub, flows very near to the Indus for a considerable distance, and probably unites with it, in the rainy season, in forming one general inundation higher up than Ooch. At Ooch, the Sutledj joins the stream from the east. The Sutledj, however, though the largest, is not the next in order of the five rivers of the Punjab.

That river is the Beyah: its direct course from the mountains is considerably less than that of the Ravey; but as it contains a greater quantity of water, and also floods more in the rainy season, there is much probability that the whole extent of its course is not known; and that future travellers may find it flowing toward the south between two parallel ridges of the mountains, from at least one hundred miles higher up than it has yet been laid down in the maps. At least the quantity of water that it contains, as well as the distance of other rivers from each other at this part of the Himalaya, would lead to some such conclusion as this. The Ravey;

joins the Sutledj about seventy miles to the south-east of Lahore, and nearly three hundred miles from Ooch, where their united streams join the other waters of the Punjaub.

The Sutledj is the last, and probably the largest (certainly the longest) of all the rivers in the Punjaub. It is understood to be the Hydaspes of the Greeks, though it is by no means improbable that the only place of it with which the followers of Alexander were acquainted, was that below the junction with the Beyah, to which the name of Kivah is applied. Even in that part, there are sometimes as many channels as four, the course of the river westward, near the margin of the great western desart, being comparatively flat. Though the whole course of the Sutledj has not been seen, there are many reasons for believing that its remotest source is in Rawan's Head, and some adjoining lakes, which may at some seasons be united; that this branch, with another that meets it, flowing from the north-west, drain a valley nearly three hundred miles in length, beyond the great range of the Himalaya, not far from the source of the Indus; and thus more than fourteen thousand miles from the Arabian Sea. This will give the Sutledj a longer course than the Ganges, and thus, in point of length, make it rank the second of

Indian rivers ; but it drains only one succession of valleys ; and as the quantity of water is in proportion to the breadth of the country drained, as well as to the length, the volume of water is nothing compared to that which the Ganges receives from its many tributaries. The source of the Sutledj is very elevated, probably not less than fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. The pass by which it escapes through the Himalaya has not been so particularly described, as that an opinion can be formed, whether the valley from which its two primary branches come, has, or has not, been a lake ; but, from general circumstances, one would be inclined to conclude, that such has been the case. The descent of the Sutledj, after it breaks through the great chain of mountains, and flows toward the south-west, is rapid ; but it does not appear that there are any cascades of great elevations. These do not, indeed, appear to be general features of the mountain streams in the north of India. The course of the Sutledj, from the centre of the mountains, to where the Beyah joins it, may be estimated at about five hundred miles, and their joint course to the Indus about four hundred more.

The united stream of the Punjaub rivers, from Ooch downward, is very near to the Indus. The deepest channel, and consequently the only

or the chief one in the dry season, is understood to unite with that of the Indus, about sixty miles farther south than Ooch ; but it appears to be different at different times of the year ; and it is probable that, from the volume of water in those united floods, and the violence with which, notwithstanding the comparative flatness of the country, it moves, the deep channel may frequently change its direction.

These outlines of the celebrated rivers of this part of India, will save much in the description of the country. The sources of them all are elevated ; they flow, for a considerable part (upon the average more than the half) of their courses through hilly countries ; and they have no lakes to regulate the flow of their waters ; while the lower parts are comparatively flat, and allow those waters partially to stagnate. Hence it follows that, unless where there is a circular valley like that of Cachmere, there can be no great extent of flat land in the hilly countries, and no meadows upon the banks of the rivers till they come to the plain, because the violence of the floods would wash them away.

The converging of so many large rivers as there are in the south-western part of this country, necessarily ensures a high degree of fertility ; and, accordingly, the *doabs*, or narrow portions of land, between those rivers near their

junctions, have always, in tranquil and peaceable times, been famous for their agricultural produce. For a considerable period that part of India has been in a very unsettled state; the fields have lain waste; the desert has encroached; and perhaps there is not, at the present time, a portion of the earth's surface that stands more in need of human industry and skill, nor would they repay them more abundantly, than the Punjaub. Nor is there, perhaps, in the world, another place in which the power of water could be rendered so generally valuable, for irrigation, for conveyance, and for every purpose to which an abundance of that liquid can be applied.

From the Sutledj southward, till the desert be passed, there is nothing deserving the name of a river. Upon the western verge of the wide valley of the Ganges, or rather that of the Jumnah, its great western branch in the north, there are the commencements of a few streams, such as the Cagger; but their courses are short; they soon get into that part of the country where the influence of the monsoon is hardly felt, and are lost in the desert. Even that desert is not wholly destitute of moisture. Notwithstanding the great quantity of water which the rivers of the Punjaub discharge into the Indus, and which that river rolls to the sea, a considerable quantity appears to be absorbed by the thirsty



soil ; and though it fertilizes the surface only at some small and scattered Oases, where a more retentive soil forces it up, there is evidence that water finds its way through the lower strata upon which the desert rests, all the way from the land of rivers to the sea. The wells must be often dug to a great depth ; but there is hardly a place where, if the depth be sufficient, a supply of water cannot be obtained. This is found to be the case throughout the whole extent from the Sutledj to the Gulf of Cutch, and upon it there might be grounded a question as to how far the water might be reclaimed. That is a question upon which we have no leisure for entering, and for the satisfactory solution of which the data are far too deficient, although we had.

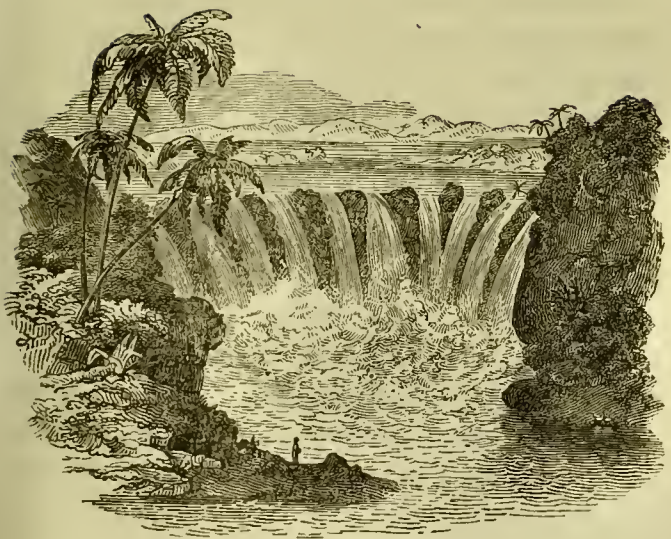
Still one cannot avoid noticing that this part of India has, in the lapse of ages, undergone a change much for the worse. The evidence is not altogether clear or continuous ; but still it is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that, in consequence of the desolating wars which have been waged by successive invaders and internal spoilers, the artificial irrigation has been neglected ; and that, in consequence, the desert has crept onward, till it has not only dried up the water of streams that once were of considerable magnitude and perennial, but that it has



obliterated their channels, by filling them with loose sand, and thus converting what once were the firm and rocky beds of the currents into drains, by which the water is concealed and dissipated. In all warm countries, where the dry seasons are of long continuance, this is the natural progress : taken in time, it may be prevented by industry ; but when it has extended so far as in this part of India, the retracing of the progress is probably too much for human art.

## CHAPTER IV.

## RIVERS.



## BIRRA CHUKI.

THE *Ganges* is the next river that claims our attention ; and as its general course and also the nature of the land through which it mingles, in divided streams, with the sea, have already been hinted at, the notice of it may be the more brief.

What the Hindûs reckon the true Ganges, though it is not perhaps the most remote branch of the river, or that which rises nearest the summit of the Himalaya, is the Bhagirathi, which has been traced to a point in lat.  $31^{\circ}$  and long.  $79^{\circ}$ , elevated nearly fourteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. No fountain has been seen ; but the infant stream was found to take its course from under an immense mass of snow, in the successive layers of which the storms of many winters were chronicled, and which the thaws of successive seasons had hung with icicles, giving some appearance of consistency to the fable which represents the sacred river as issuing from the hair of Mahadeva, the destroyer. The quantity of the water that issues from under this mass of perennial snow, in the summer at least, is not very great, the breadth not exceeding nine feet, and the depth being barely as many inches. But, from the number of tributary streams that issue from the same lofty ridge — the principal of which are the Dauli and the Alacananda, and the rapidity with which they descend, the Ganges soon becomes no inconsiderable river. At Hurdwar, Ganga dwara, the gate or passage of the Ganges [the similarity of the word “*dwara*” to the Gaelic *dorras*, and the English *door*, and still more the word *thorough*, all of which have similar meanings, is one of a number of very

striking coincidences],—at this celebrated place of Hindû pilgrimage, the Ganges has already become a river of considerable magnitude, though the distance which it has flowed from the original snow is not, including all the windings, more than one hundred and fifty miles. But the descent is still more remarkable than the quantity of water. The source, it has been stated, has an elevation of about fourteen thousand feet, while that of Hurdwar is little more than one thousand, so that, in the short space of one hundred and eighty miles, the Ganges descends thirteen times as much as in all the remainder of its long passage to the ocean, a distance that cannot be estimated at less than one thousand three hundred miles; so that the average rate of descent, from the very first entrance of the river into the low country, is not much more than nine inches to the mile,—a fact which explains why its current should be so very broad and deep; and have, even in the upper part of the valley, often more the appearance of a lake than of a river. From Hurdwar to the junction with the Jumnah, an extent of certainly not less than five hundred miles, the Ganges receives no very large branch from either side: and yet in this part of its course its width is seldom less than a mile, and often a mile and a half. In the dry season

however, the quantity of water is not great in proportion to this width of channel; many parts are interrupted by mud and sand, and several are fordable. The addition of water poured in by the Jumnah and its great western branch, the Chumbul, is very considerable; and, from that junction, to where the river divides into a number of channels, at the head of the delta, a distance of not much less than six hundred miles, the depth of the Ganges is seldom less than thirty feet. This is the estimate when the water is at the lowest; for in the rainy season it rises more than thirty feet above its ordinary level, and, with the rise, the velocity of the current is increased. The width is not uniform throughout the whole extent; for there are some places, comparatively far down, where the extent from bank to bank is, in the dry season, considerably less than a mile. At those places the current is very rapid, and where the earth is soft, which is its general character, the banks are constantly falling in at some places, and receive additions at others. The interruptions occasioned by these narrows, and the windings of the river, reduce the general fall, when the water is low, to considerably less than the nine inches per mile, which is the general average from Hurdwar to the sea; and as the greatest part of the interruption is caused by the delta, perhaps the current is more rapid there than in

any other part of the river. During the floods it is decidedly so ; as the rise, which is thirty or thirty-two feet in the upper part of the river, subsides till it be only a foot or two at the confluence with the sea, and thus an additional slope of about thirty feet, and that entirely of water, is given to the last two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles.

In a mere sketch of the Ganges it would be in vain to attempt enumerating its tributary streams ; they are more numerous than those of any other river ; and though they do not, just in consequence of their greater number, present, individually, so striking and distinctive characters as the five rivers of the Punjaub, they discharge a much greater quantity of water. The longest branches are on the western side, and have their sources within sixty miles of the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay, so that they are really longer than the Ganges itself ; but, taking the aggregate, the greatest body of water flows from the ridge of the Himalaya on the east. Those mountains retain their giant elevation along the whole line of the valley. Badrinath, between the Bhagirathi and its first branch, the Alacanda, has an elevation of twenty-three thousand feet, while the mountains between that river and the remotest source of the Gogra rise to the height of nearly twenty-six thousand. Dhawalaghiri, about one hun-



dred and sixty miles farther to the south-east, from whose lofty cliffs the first streams of the Gunduck are poured down, has been already mentioned as nearly twenty-seven thousand feet high. The summit from which the Cosa flows, and which is two hundred miles still to the south-east, is twenty-four thousand feet high; and Tchamalari, two hundred miles to the east of the last mentioned, which pours down the Gaddadah, through Bootan, to the Brahmapootra, in the valley of Assam, is twenty-six thousand. This vast ridge, the summits of which are every where so lofty as to intercept the highest clouds, stretches parallel to the Ganges, and Brahmapootra, for a distance of nearly a thousand miles; and the distance where greatest, from Dhawalaghiri, to Allahabad at the confluence with the Jumnah, is not more than two hundred and fifty miles, while from the confluence of the Cosa with the Ganges, farther down, to the summit of the mountains, does not exceed one hundred and fifty. These mountains intercept the current of humid air during the rainy season, and, during the dry heat, they pour down their melted snows, so that the portion of the valley that lies between them and the Ganges is more abundantly supplied with water, than any other portion of the earth's surface,—and not water to stagnate upon the surface and taint the air, but water which sweeps onward to



the Ganges, down from a height of at least twenty thousand feet. To this, however, there is one exception,—the Terriani, or jungle, immediately at the bottom of the secondary mountains, which is constantly enveloped in a thick and pestilent fog.

Of the branches that enter the Ganges on the mountain, or left hand side, there are five principal ones, that have their origin in the lofty mountains, and many smaller ones between, that spring from the hills that extend into the Nepolese or mountain half of this side of the valley. Those five branches are the Gogra, the Gunduck, the Cosa, the Teesta, and the Brahmapootra.

The source of the Gogra has been already mentioned as near that of the Alacanada branch of the Ganges. Its course is south-east, over a distance of about five hundred miles, and it contains a great quantity of water in proportion to its length. The first part of it is rapid; but, when it reaches the plain, the current is slower, and it expands in breadth; and, for two hundred and fifty miles, flows through a level country of great fertility. Its confluence with the Ganges is, in direct distance, about one hundred and forty miles farther down than that of the Jumnah; but that part of the Ganges winds so much that the distance by water is more than double.

The Gunduck is a much smaller stream than the Gogra ; and it enters the Ganges between thirty and forty miles farther down. Still its course is three hundred miles, and probably more, for it has not been explored. As it rises in the most elevated part of the Himalaya, its descent is rapid ; and though it winds a great deal in the plain, it does not extend to the same width as most of the other large rivers. From this river, the secondary mountains assume more the character of a continuous ridge than in the upper part of the valley ; and thus give to the country, through which the Gunduck and the Cosa have the upper part of their courses, the character of a second valley, parallel to the great one of the Ganges.

The course of the Cosa is about the same length as that of the Gunduck ; the greater part of it among the mountains, and in the secondary valley of Nepâl : and when it descends into the plain, it expands into a wide channel, studded with islands. Its junction with the Ganges is about one hundred and fifty miles below that of the Gunduck.

The Teesta is the last large branch that can be considered as joining the Ganges while a river ; for the Brahmapootra only unites with it in what may be considered as an estuary. The upper part of the Teesta has not been explored, or its source found (except by the burim

of the map-engravers, which, in its time, has made many discoveries and revolutions in geography); but it is supposed to rise even beyond the Himalaya. It joins the Pudda (or great eastern branch) of the Ganges, about one hundred miles from the Bay of Bengal, and its course through the Bengal provinces is about two hundred and fifty miles. A little before it enters that province, it is said to descend in an immense cataract, which is not a very common feature of the rivers of that part of India. Indeed the great height and the annual flooding are against the existence of cataracts, as both tend to enable the river to smooth a channel for itself, by tearing away elevations, and filling up hollows. The descent of the Teesta into the plain of Bengal is rapid; however; and, though its current is swift, the breadth, where it enters Bengal, is about half a mile. In the lower part of the country through which it flows, there is an immense number of rivers, and, in the rainy season, it forms junctions with the Brahmapootra and the Ganges. This part of India is, indeed, peculiarly humid; the soil, in consequence, soft, though very fertile; and, thus, the channels of the rivers are very liable to change.

Between the Gunduck and Teesta, there is a river which rises in the Himalaya, and which,

in any other country than this, would be accounted a noble stream. That is the Mahanada. Its path is very winding, and, therefore, cannot be estimated at much less than three hundred miles. It falls into the Ganges, about midway between the Gunduck and the Teesta.

The Brahmapootra is the last great river flowing toward the Ganges, or its immediate estuary, on the left. Of this mighty river, the origin and the course have been the causes of a good deal of hypothesis, which shows the danger of trusting to the authority of names in cases of fact. The Brahmapootra, contrary to the analogy, and the real accounts of Assam, as far as these went, was laid down by some great geographers as a continuation of the Sampoo of Thibet, which drains the water from the northern slope of the Himalaya; while some minor ones, ploughing a channel for it in the copper with their burin, (as before observed), sent it down to Rangoon, as the river of Ava,—the Irawadi of the Burmans. Now, it has been ascertained, that the rivers of the Burmese territory all have their sources in the Naga mountains, which are a continuation of the Garrows, and most likely a spur of the Himalaya, doubling round the sources of the Brahmapootra; that not one of those rivers has probably so much as a rill beyond the latitude of

28°; and that there is no great river that passes from the northward over to the southward of the Naga chain, from their commencement in the Garrows opposite Bengal, to the confines of China. The Brahmapootra has also been followed till all the branches of it have become mere mountain torrents; and, instead of coming from the other side of the Himalaya, those mountains were seen raising their summits so far to the north, that the torrents could not have come from beyond them. The geographical question is, therefore, narrowed to “What is the termination of the Sanpoo of Thibet?” and till the fact shall be ascertained, the most rational hypothesis is, that it is the Yang tsi Kiang, or Blue river, that falls into the sea below Nankin, in China,—a river to which the Chinese authorities assign a very long course before it enters China proper.

The termination of the Brahmapootra threatens to be, some day or other, a much more serious matter than the geographical mistake about its origin. The doab between it and the Ganges is soft alluvial soil; and in 1809, the Brahmapootra showed that a very little more flood would have swept thirty thousand square miles of rich land into the sea. That may one day be the case, and Cossimba-

zar, which is now two hundred miles from the sea, may be the port of the Ganges.

We have been thus particular in the enumeration of those rivers, and in pointing out the elevations from which they descend, because in these circumstances are to be found the explanations of many of the peculiarities of this most interesting portion of the world. The circumstances are such as to produce the very maximum of atmospheric influence by which the earth is renewed and fertilized; and also, in the accumulated floods, a power by which, were it not that the north-eastward motion of the monsoon checks it, that earth might be washed away. Even the Hindûs, rude as they must have been at the time when their mythology was formed, appear to have had some notion of a power of this kind in the rivers. The greater part of those that have been mentioned have divine attributes imputed to them; and they are all coupled with allusions to Sina, the destroyer.

We shall now turn our attention to the branches that join the Ganges on the right or western bank. On that side, the branches, at least the large ones, are few compared with those on the left. The ones most worthy of notice, in a general sketch, are the Jumnah and



the Sone, though the former has some very extended ramifications.

The Jumnah has been traced to a great chasm in the south-west side of the great snowy mountain of Jumnoutri, which has an elevation of twenty-five thousand feet, and on the south-east side of which the Ganges has its origin. The place is described by Captain Hodgson, who visited it in April, 1817, as peculiarly striking. A vast mass of snow had descended from the mountain, and filled the chasm between the precipices of granite to the depth of forty feet, the width of the chasm being one hundred and eighty. This mass of snow had been hardened to the consistency of ice by the action of the frost ; but it was perforated from below by the action of several boiling springs. Through one of these openings the adventurous officer descended ; and having fired some white lights, these enabled him to discover a most singular origin for a river. Over a considerable extent of the granite rock, springs of hot water bubbled up through the fissures, some of them warm enough for boiling rice, and all of them depositing as much oxide of iron as to render it extremely probable that the heat is occasioned by the decomposition of pyrites. In those springs the water rises up with much violence and ebullition, and sends up a great quantity of steam ;

but the nascent river is very trifling, being only three feet wide and a few inches in depth. Like the Ganges, the Jumnah is not the head that furnishes the greatest quantity of water: it is much inferior to the Tonse, and also to the Giree, streams which rise farther to the west, and join it near its source among the mountains. The Jumnah receives the greater part of its waters among the mountains; and though its course is not very long before it enters the low country at the village of Fyzabad, in the province of Delhi, it is there two-thirds of a mile wide, and deep and rapid during the rains, while, in the dry season, it has a width of three hundred feet. The want of branches in the upper part of its course through the plains is a remarkable feature of the Jumnah. For the first five hundred miles from its source, there is only one branch worth mentioning on the east, and there is not one on the west. The summit level of northern Hindûstan is, indeed, near the west bank of the Jumnah, and the few streams that rise in that quarter have their sources not far from the river, and they run toward the south-west and are lost in the desert; so that, during the dry season, there is most water in the Jumnah in the upper part of the province of Delhi. The adjoining land is, in consequence, dry; but the course of the river

is flat, and its waters may be applied to the irrigating of the fields.

The principal branches of the Jumnah are the Chumbul, the Sind, the Betwah, and the Cane. These drain the waters of a very large portion of country—of all that part of Hindûstan Proper, which is not included in the districts watered by the Indus and its branches, or by the Ganges and its tributaries. If lines be supposed drawn from the Gulf of Cambay, one to Delhi, and the other to the confluence of the Jumnah with the Ganges at Allahabad, these, with the Jumnah, will inclose a three-sided space, about equal to, and nearly corresponding with, that drained by the rivers that have been mentioned.

The Chumbul is by much the largest of these rivers. Its source (as indeed are those of all the great branches of the Jumnah) is in the first or great western spur of the Vindhaya mountains, which separate continental from peninsular India, and are, under different local names, ramified over the latter. The elevation of those mountains is trifling compared with that of the chain that divides India from the rest of Asia. In the ridge from which the branches of the Jumnah issue, there are not many parts that have a greater elevation than two thousand feet, and there are very few indeed that have so much as

four thousand. Those rivers are, in general, tame and tranquil, and produce little effect upon the soil compared with those that come thundering down from the Himalaya into the valley of the Ganges. But still they are fine rivers; and the mountains, though not lofty, are picturesque, being chiefly composed of trap, and presenting the perpendicular cliffs, and detached angular and columnar mass, for which that species of rock is so very remarkable.

The Chumbul rises in those mountains a very little to the north of the Nerbudda, and about one hundred and fifty miles higher than the confluence of that river with the Gulf of Cambay. The valley, or, rather, the plain, of which the streams are collected into the Chumbul, is of considerable dimensions, the width from the source of the remotest eastern to that of the most western branch being about three hundred miles. The length of the Chumbul, the course of which is a curve, having its convexity to the north-west, is about five hundred miles; and the surface that it drains is not much less than eighty thousand square miles. The upper part of the Chumbul, among the hills, is often without water in the dry season; the middle is full of rocks and shallows, and unfit for the purposes of navigation; but the lower part, toward

the Jumnah is, for a considerable extent, a very fine river.

The Sind has its source in the same ridge as the Chumbul, but considerably farther to the east ; and as the high country there approaches nearer to the Jumnah, its general course is more rapid. Its length is about two hundred miles ; but it is of little value for inland navigation. In the dry season it is shallow and much interrupted ; and, though, during the rains, it contains a great quantity of water, it is impetuous, and, in many places, dangerous. The confluence of the Sind with the Jumnah is near that of the Chumbul, and in the doab between them there is a number of minor streams.

The Betwah resembles the Sind in many of its characters, though it is a much larger river. Its source is within forty miles of the Nerbudda ; and it flows to the north-east, and at last nearly due east, the whole length being nearly three hundred and fifty miles. The greater part of the country through which it flows is hilly ; and in some places there are rapids. In the drought, the quantity of water is small, compared with the length of the river ; and even when swollen by the rains, it is not navigable. Its confluence with the Jumnah is about seventy miles farther down than that of the Sind.

The Cane is still farther to the east, and,

like the last two rivers, flows chiefly through a hilly country, being, like them, useless for the purposes of navigation. It rises within a very few miles of the Nerbudda ; and its general direction is nearly north, though from the hilly character of the country through which it flows, it is very winding. Its length is more than two hundred miles. The point where the principal stream rises is nearly midway between the eastern and western seas.

From the sources and directions of those western and southern branches of the Jumnah, it will be seen that the country north of the Nerbudda, and eastward of the small rivers that fall into the head of the Gulf of Cambay, has a general slope toward the north-east and north. The rise from the Nerbudda is rapid, the watershed which turns the rains and springs the other way being everywhere near the bank of that river. The general slope northward is more gradual ; and the country continues hilly for a considerable extent. After the Cane, and some smaller branches of the Jumnah are passed, and that river has united with the Ganges at Allahabad, the range of mountains runs parallel to that river, and not more than fifty miles distant from it, all the way to the confluence of the Sone, about twenty-five miles below that of the Gogra, from the opposite side.



The country where the Sone rises is but imperfectly known ; but it is generally understood to be a table land, extending about three hundred miles from east to west, and from one hundred and fifty to one hundred across. Its general elevation is not accurately known ; but it is supposed to be about one thousand eight hundred or two thousand feet ; to be covered with jungles of forest, interspersed with stony patches, and peaks of trap, rising to a considerable height, though seldom deserving the appellation of mountains. It is a sort of plateau, which connects the range that separates the sources of the rivers that have just been traced from the Nerbudda, with the elevations farther to the south ; and rivers flow from it in all directions : the Sone to the north-east ; a number of small rivers east to the Hoogly and bay of Bengal ; the Mahanuddy to the south-east ; some of the branches of the Godavery to the south, and the Nerbudda to the west. The name usually given to this table land is Omerkuntuc. While the Sone continues in the mountains, its current is rapid and interrupted, and its bed rocky ; but in the lower part, it is wide and suited for navigation. The name Sone means golden, but that does not apply to anything metalliferous connected with the river, only to the great banks of sand which

it leaves dry in the spring heats. During the rains, as the upper part is rapid and the under slow, a great quantity of water is, of course, accumulated in the latter ; and the extent of flood and deposition of sand are proportionate. These, when the flood subsides, give a very dreary and desolate appearance to the margin of the river, whose shrunken current then flows amid a vast arid waste of sandy downs. Nor is that the only evil that results from the quantity of sand that is brought down by those rivers ; for the quantity thrown into the Ganges is sometimes so great, that the navigation of that river between Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumnah, and Bahar, a little below that of the Sone, is interrupted in the dry season,—there not being above eighteen inches or two feet water over the banks. But these interruptions are not permanent, as the Ganges sweeps them away in the early part of the next rains.

Lower than the Sone there are some minor branches that fall into the Ganges, and also into the western or Hoogly channel, after the waters of the river are separated by the commencement of the delta ; but these do not form general features of the country, though they add greatly to the fertility of the region through which they pass.

If the rivers that have been noticed are carefully examined upon the map, they will render

the allocation of the provinces and towns, and the knowledge of the surface, in continental India, or Hindûstan proper, a very easy matter ; and before proceeding to trace the waters in the south, it only remains to notice the comparatively small streams that flow westward, and empty themselves into the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay.

The rivers that flow toward the Gulf of Cutch are, in a great measure, only seasonal,—being dry, or nearly so, except during the rainy monsoon. The largest is the Banass (called in some maps the Loaney), which rises somewhere near the city of Ajmeer, but the precise place is not known ; and in the country borders on the desert, and partakes a little of that character ; probably the highest point at which water is found in the channel, or where the channel differs from the arid and burnt up district through which it passes, may also vary with the season. During the rains, the rivers in this part of the country cover a great part of the surface with a sheet of water, while in the dry season they are themselves drank up by the thirsty soil, or evaporated by the heat, before they reach the Rinn, which may be considered as their general termination.

The rivers that flow southward to the Gulf of Cambay are of trifling magnitude ; and would

hardly merit notice, were it not that they mark a small portion of country which slopes toward that gulf. The chief ones are the Mhye, which, after a very winding course of about two hundred miles, falls into the head of the gulf; and the Sambermatty, which passes the city of Ahmedabad, and falls into the gulf to the west of Cambay.

The Gujerat being nearly insulated from the rest of the country, being hilly, and sloping toward all sides, has small rivers flowing in all directions; but none of them is so much superior to the others as to give any general character to the country.

From what has been stated, it will be perceived, that if a diagonal be drawn across Hindûstan proper, from the Gulf of Cutch to the sources of the Jumnah, the general slope of the one division is south-westward toward the Indus, and that of the other south-eastward toward the Ganges, till the southern portion be arrived at, and that slopes from the Vindhaya ridge northward, to the Chumbul, the Jumnah, and the Ganges in succession. The northern portion of the western division is well watered, while the southern is dry and desart. The whole of the eastern abounds in rivers as far west as the Jumnah; but beyond that, it is deficient in humidity till the Chumbul be arrived.

at; and the elevated country, where the southern branches of that river have their origin, is also subject to be parched during the dry season.

It now only remains to notice the rivers in the peninsular part of India, or that which lies to the south of the Vindhaya ridge and the plateau, or table land, in which that ridge terminates eastward. This portion was by the Hindû geographers called the Deccan, or south; but as the Mahomedan conquests did not for a long time extend to the southern table land, or beyond the river Krishna, the Deccan was by them considered as applicable only to the countries between the Nerbudda and the Krishna; and as the foundation of the modern geographies of the country is the Ayeen Acbaree, or Institutes of Acbar, a geographical or statistical account of the country, drawn up by Abul Fazel, perhaps the most learned Mahomedan minister of India, as Acbar certainly was the most illustrious Mahomedan sovereign, this distinction is retained; and the Deccan, which literally means the south, is applied to the centre, to the portion extending from about the fifteenth to rather beyond the twenty-second degree of North latitude, or occupying the peninsula, from sea to sea, for five hundred miles of its length. A very considerable portion of this division, extending from the northern pla-

teau in a south-west direction, to the banks of the river Godavery, is but imperfectly known; but from the accounts that are given of it, it seems to be rather elevated, very much overrun with wood, and interspersed with detached rocky hills. In a small portion of the north of the Deccan, the slope is toward the west; but the general inclination of the country is toward the bay of Bengal.

In that portion which slopes to the west, there are two rivers, the Nerbudda and the Tuptee, which both fall into the Gulf of Cambay, and are nowhere at any great distance from each other.

The Nerbudda is understood (for the fact has not been ascertained by Europeans) to have its remotest source in a seasonal pool, or morass, upon the table land of Omerkuntuc, where the height above the level of the sea is about two thousand five hundred feet, and where the Sone also has its source; but at one season, the morass and upper part of the river are said to be dry. The general course of the Nerbudda is nearly upon a straight line; but its descent is rapid, and very much interrupted by rocks or banks, so that the navigation is of little value except for about one hundred miles toward the Gulf of Cambay. At this place it may be considered rather as an estuary than a river, as it has



breadth of nearly three miles. At the head of this one hundred miles of estuary navigation, there begins a wild and hilly tract, which extends for nearly an equal length, and in this the channel is so interrupted that it cannot be navigated. In the course of its passage through this tract, it has a descent of more than six hundred feet, or six feet in the mile, and as that is made by a succession of pools and rapids, the obstacles to sailing are insurmountable. Above this rapid it reaches to the breadth of one half or three quarters of a mile; but in almost all parts of its course there are interruptions. From the proximity of its sources to those of the Sone, which flows to the Ganges, and of the Mahanuddy, which flows to the bay of Bengal, there is no river in India upon which it would be so desirable to establish a navigation; but the difficulties would be great, probably insurmountable. The whole length of the Nerbudda, is estimated at about seven hundred miles; but, though it rises much during floods, the average quantity of water that it discharges, is rather small in proportion to its length, because it runs in a narrow valley, and has no branch of any considerable magnitude. The south side of that valley is formed by the Sanpoora, or Calycong ridge of hills, which, proceeding westward from the table land, on

the south side of the source of the Nerbudda, stretches westward nearly to the gulf of Cambay, dividing the valley of the Nerbudda from that of the Tuptee.

Though the Tuptee be a much smaller river than the Nerbudda, it is much more valuable; and Surat, the emporium of its trade, has been a place of great resort from very remote antiquity. The whole course of the Tuptee, the general direction of which is winding, and the current not nearly so rapid, or so much interrupted as that of the Nerbudda, is, at least, four hundred and fifty miles. A little to the south of the Tuptee, the summit level approaches the west side of the country, and continues so in the southern Ghauts, the whole way to Cape Comorin; so that for two thirds of its length, there falls no river into the sea, on the west side of India, of sufficient importance to form a general feature of the country. We must, therefore, return to the north-east, and examine the great basin of the Deecan, which slopes toward the bay of Bengal.

There is one river, of considerable magnitude, which cannot be considered as strictly coming within the limits of that basin, but rather as draining the south-east of the table land of Omerkuntue, and that is the Mahanuddy, which rises not far from the sources of the Ner-

budda, and the Sone, and has a winding course of about five hundred miles. Like all the rivers that have their origin in the same place, the Mahanuddy is very rapid in the upper part of its course; and, like the Sone, its bed and banks are, in the lower part, rendered unsightly and sterile, by vast accumulations of sand. This is in a great measure a seasonal river. During the rains it is nearly a mile in breadth at the distance of one hundred miles higher up than Cuttack, and at that season the principal stream and some of the main branches may be ascended or descended by large boats: but at other seasons, the greater part of the bed is dry, and even at Cuttack the stream is so shallow that it may be forded. Respecting the course of the Mahanuddý, the position of its branches, and the general nature of the country in which it originates, and through which the upper part of it lies, the authorities are a little imperfect and contradictory; but it seems to be a wild and unhealthy jungle. But there are indications of considerable mineral riches in some parts of the district, though their particular locality has not yet been explored by Europeans, and appears to be of very difficult access. But this southern part of the Omerkuntuc must be different in its formation from the north, of which the débris is washed down by the Sone.

Agates, in great numbers and of great beauty, are found among the gravel of that river, while diamonds of the finest quality are met with in the sands of the Mahanuddy; and they are most frequently found in the southern branches. Below Cuttack, the sand brought down by the Mahanuddy has formed a sort of delta, on the southmost stream of which, in a very dreary region, the celebrated Hindû temple of Jugernauth is situated.

The next river south of the Mahanuddy is the Godavery, the largest river in the Deccan. The source of that which the Hindûs designate and worship as the true Godavery, is in the Western Ghauts, not more than seventy miles north-east of Bombay, and the sources of some of the branches further south are even nearer to the sea; so that the length of the valley of this river extends nearly across the peninsula. The river winds a great deal, so that the length of its course is not much less than nine hundred miles; and as it receives large tributaries both from the north and the south, it discharges more water than any other Indian river, with the exception of the Ganges and Indus. The general direction of the valley of this river is from north-west to south-east. The boundary of the valley toward the north is in the Satapoorâ ridge of hills, which form the southern

boundary of the valley of the Tuptee, and, extending in an easterly direction along the whole course of that river, bend to the north round its source, and again stretch eastward to the plateau of Omerkuntuc. Toward the source of the Godavery, the valley is narrow, as a ridge of hills stretch eastward from the Ghauts, immediately opposite Bombay, and separate the branches of the Godavery from those of the Krishna. At the distance of about fifty miles from the sea, the Godavery divides into two channels, the northmost of which flows into Coringa bay, already mentioned, and both can be entered by small craft in the rainy season; but during the drought, the sandy channel of the Godavery, which is more than a mile wide, contains only a few scattered streams, the deepest of which does not exceed eighteen inches. But when the rains come, it is majestic, and rolls on in a deep volume of water, at least a mile and a half wide. About one hundred miles from its mouth, and just where it enters the district of the Circars, there is a magnificent scene, the pass of the Papkûndu Hills. Above, the stream is a mile and a half in width; but the hills, rising in precipices to the altitude of two thousand feet, close in upon it till the passage is narrowed to one half of its usual width; and when the stream is much swollen, it appears,

when approached from below, to issue at once from a vast fountain in the rocks. From what has been said respecting the lower part of its channel, it is obvious that the Godavery cannot be navigated in the dry season; but for four months during the rains, it is available for that purpose, to the distance of four hundred miles from its union with the sea; and some of its branches serve for floating down the timber, and other produce of the hilly districts in which they have their sources.

The largest of those branches is the Wyne Gunga, which flows from an elevated source in the northern hills, not far from the sources of the Nerbudda: and, after a course of about three hundred miles, falls into the Godavery about two hundred and fifty miles from its confluence with the sea. This river has many considerable ramifications, which, though shallow, and nearly dry in the warm season, are flooded, and adapted to the floating down of timber during the rains. The great southern branch of the Godavery is the Manjera, which, after a very serpentine course, and one remarkable bend by which it changes nearly to the opposite direction, flows into the Godavery about equally distant from the eastern and the western seas. All the branches of the Godavery rise, and, for great part of their courses, pass through



hilly countries, which, in general, abound in timber.

The next river southward in the Deccan, and the one which forms its boundary on the south, is the Krishna. It is the most rapid and turbulent of all the rivers in this part of India. It is of very little avail for the purposes of navigation, though its length be seven hundred miles, and its ramifications have an extent in latitude of not less than four hundred miles. The source of the principal stream is not more than forty miles from the Arabian sea, and that of the Beemah, the first great branch on the north, is within five and twenty. All the rivers, indeed, that rise to the eastward of the Western Ghauts, from  $13^{\circ}$  to  $19^{\circ}$  latitude, and the summits are there very near to the sea, fall into the Krishna. The general course of the main stream is eastward; but it is remarkably winding. In general it is high; and about the seventy-ninth degree of longitude it is crossed by the Nalla Malla Hills, where a scene, more singular than the pass by which the Godavery enters the Circars, is produced. Those hills, which, in the more lofty summits, have an elevation of from two thousand to three thousand five hundred feet, occupy a base of about fifty miles; and where the Krishna forces its way through, the projections on the one side correspond so

well to the recesses on the other, and the faces are so bold, and the angles so well defined, that the passage seems as if it had been formed by the rending of the mountains asunder. Those cliffs are in some places nearly one thousand feet in perpendicular altitude; and between them, the current is so violent when the river is swollen, and so much interrupted by shallows and rocks when it is low, that navigation up or down is impossible. The crossing of the river is, indeed, rather a formidable matter to those that are not acquainted with it. In the hilly country the ferry-boats are baskets, of a round or oval shape, formed of bamboo, and covered with hides; and as they are paddled across the boiling stream, they bend, and crack, and admit water, so that they seem to be going to pieces. Primitive as they are, however, they are far better adapted to the river than European boats. They are buoyant and tough, and they move in all directions with equal facility, and thus yield to the violence of the current.

The number of streams that flow from the eastern side of the Ghauts into the Krishna, render it a river of very considerable magnitude even in the early part of its course; and as the rocks by which it is interrupted are occasionally and not continuous, there are some places where

during the floods, it has a very considerable breadth, and encircles a number of islands.

The first branch of any magnitude that falls into the Krishna is the Gutpurba, which rises in the Ghauts, very near the western sea, in lat.  $16^{\circ}$ . It flows for some time along the elevated part of the mountains, which there forms a sort of narrow table land: and from that it descends to the interior vallèy, in a cascade, which is very grand during the rains. A little lower down, the Malpurba descends from the same mountains, and falls into the Krishna, after a course of about one hundred and fifty miles.

The next branch of the Krishna is the Beemah, which flows from the north-west, and has a longer course than the Krishna itself, the extent, including the windings, being upwards of four hundred miles. *Bhima-vima*, in the native language, means terrific, and the appellation is not undescriptive of the stream, which foams through a hilly country for the greater part of its course, though, in the dry season, its quantity of water is by no means great.

The only other branch of the Krishna that it will be necessary to notice is the Toombudra. That river also rises in the Western Ghauts, the eastern slope of which is drained by its

branches for about one hundred and fifty miles, from lat.  $13^{\circ}$  northward. At that parallel, the Bababooden Hills, which form the summit level of Southern India branch eastward from the Ghauts, and extend nearly to the middle of the country, before they turn northward toward the Krishna, and ultimately join the Nalla Malla ridge, the passage of the Krishna through the Ghaut of which has been mentioned. This summit level, with the Ghauts on the west, and the Krishna on the north, enclose a space of hilly country about two hundred miles from north to south, and half that extent from east to west, and sloping toward the north-east. The Toombudra and its branches wash this district; and they very much resemble the Krishna in their courses and the nature of the country through which they pass. They are, in general, too rapid and interrupted for being navigable, and their channels are too deep for making them available in irrigating the land during the dry season. The chief branch of the Toombudra is the Vadavati, which flows farther to the east, chiefly along the elevated and dreary part of the table land, and joins the Toombudra, about one hundred miles above its junction with the Krishna. The course of the united rivers is east, and they pour their

streams into the Krishna in latitude  $16^{\circ}$ , and longitude about  $78^{\circ} 20'$ , where their volume of water is not much less than that of that river.

In no part of India are the rivers of so little avail for useful purposes as among the hilly districts where the Krishna and its branches are situated. They are usually found in dells, that are very narrow, and the steep sides of the intervening hills pour the rains into the rivers as fast as they descend.

The only remaining rivers, of which a knowledge is necessary, in order to fix the positions, and understand the surface of India, are those which the southern table land sends toward the east coast. The largest of these are the Pennar and the Cavery; the latter drains the hilly country to the south of the sources of the Toombudra, and the former the portion of the same that lies on the east of the Vadavati branch of that river.

The Pennar rises about the middle of the table land of Balaghaut, and flows, for the first one hundred miles of its course, northward, through a narrow valley between two other ridges of hills with which the table land is marked. At the point where the Pennar bends to the eastward, it is not above twenty miles distant from the Vadavati; but though it receives the greater portion of its waters in this

upper part of its course, its channel is rugged and interrupted, and it is very shallow in the dry season. When the river turns toward the east, and flows through the Cuddapah district, the valley through which it flows is better than that higher up; but it is much impregnated by salts of soda, which render the water brackish during the dry season. About sixty miles from the sea, the Pennar crosses from a Ghaut in the hills into the low country, which it is employed to irrigate; and its final termination is a little below the town of Nellore. The whole course of the Pennar is about three hundred and fifty miles.

Between the Pennar and the Cavery, the plain of the Carnatic is crossed by other two rivers, which may be mentioned on account of their value for agricultural purposes. These are the Palaur and the Punnair. They both rise in the eastern part of the table land, near the sources of the Pennar and the Cavery. The Palaur has rather a winding course, and considerable breadth of channel when flooded. It passes the city of Arcot, and falls into the sea at Sadras, to the south of Madras, after a course of more than two hundred miles. The Punnair rises not far from the sources of the former; and, like it, is chiefly valuable for agricultural purposes. Its course is about two



hundred miles, and it falls into the sea a little to the south of Pondicherry.

Thence, to Cape Comorin, there are many streams that originate in the mountains, and cross the low country to the sea; but they are generally of small magnitude.

The Cavery is a much larger river than any of these, and though not anywhere navigable by large vessels it is very useful in fertilizing the country. All the principal streams in the south-western part of the table land, which is here a plain about one thousand five hundred feet in average height above the sea, but surrounded, and partially interspersed, by ridges of hills, fall into the Cavery, so that it descends into the plain of the Carnatic, a river of considerable magnitude. When it reaches the low country it divides into many branches, on which account, though the navigation is rendered of comparatively trifling nature, the benefit to the country in the irrigation of the fields is greatly augmented. Even before it descends from the high country, the Cavery sometimes separates into several channels; and at one of these places there is an island, Sivana Samudra, about nine miles long and one mile broad, with a cataract upon each branch of the river, both of which are very magnificent during the floods.

There is not, perhaps, in the world, a spot combining more of the wild beauties of nature than Sivana Samudra and its vicinity ; and one need not wonder that the Hindûs chose this spot for the foundation of the ancient city of Ganga Para, or that they chiselled the rocks into temples.

The place is still sublime in the midst of its desolation. The branches of the river are, when swollen, not much less than one thousand feet wide ; the surrounding scenery is wild with cliffs, and wanton in vegetation. Great part of the island is a grass jungle, over which, however, a number of banyan trees stretch their arms, and strike down their successive roots ; while the pillars of the antient bridge, standing by hundreds in a row, are the monuments of a glory that is now gone. But the grand spectacles are the falls, which, in height and quantity of water, are not excelled in many places, and in wildness of form, are perhaps equalled in none. The fall on the north side is called Birra Chuki, and that on the south, Gangana Chuki.

The average height of the rock from which the Birra Chuki issues is about one hundred feet ; though the sides and pinnacles between the portions of the fall, which are in some places black and bare, and in others glowing with all the splendour of Oriental vegetation, rise considerably

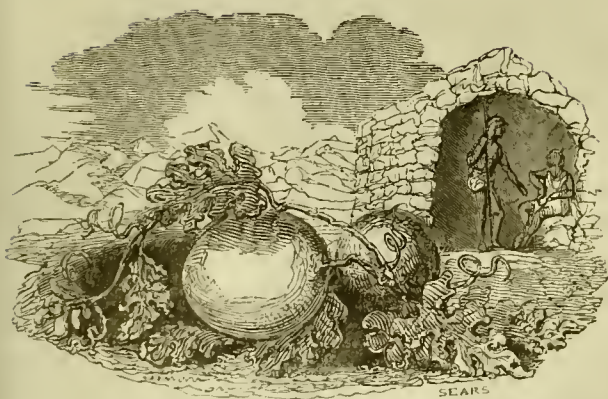
ably higher. This rock forms a curve, nearly a quadrant of a circle, from the centre of which circle the fall is viewed. Over this space ten cascades are distributed, all nearly of the same height ; but, as the rocks which separate them give to each a different turn, they dash their sparkling parabolas in sublime confusion into the cauldron below, and have more the appearance of magic than of any thing usually to be met with even in sublime scenery.

Gangana Chuki is even wilder than this, as, though there are not so many cascades, they are more varied, both in quantity of water and in height. This portion of the river is divided into two, a little above the fall. The one nearest the island, which is by far the largest, has worn its channel deeper than the other, and plunges at once into the chasm below, in one cascade, about one hundred and thirty feet high ; but there are three or four small portions of it which are separated by masses of rock, through which they are seen leaping from ledge to ledge, till they at last reach the stream about sixty yards from the base of the great fall. The second branch flows for nearly the same distance along a higher part of the rock, where, at right angles to the great fall, it dashes, in two columns, into the middle of the river from an elevation of at least two hundred feet.

Those wild cataracts, in a lonely situation, with a ruined city, and amid the most rich and varied vegetation, present a scene which is striking at all times, and tremendous when the river is swollen and the sky in thunder.

## CHAPTER V.

## PROVINCES.



SCENE IN THE DESERT.

THE territorial divisions of India are a most perplexing subject. We have seen, that in the soft alluvial parts, near the mouths of the great rivers, the natural features are not permanent, but that land and water change places, to a

greater or a less extent, with the floods of almost every year. The appearance of the surface is not much more stable, if the cultivator suspend his operations. Where it is dry, and fertility preserved by irrigation or by watering, the suspending of those operations for a few years, turns the soil into sand, and the country into a desert; and where there is humidity, the progress of vegetation is so rapid that, in brief space, the whole is converted into jungle, by which the ruins of fields and villages are alike concealed; and, in less than an age, wild animals multiply so fast, that all vestiges of man and his arts are obliterated, and the country is as much assimilated to its new inhabitants as if they had been the sole tenants since the creation. The active powers of the climate are, in fact, excessive; the drought and the rain lord it alone in their turns; and man must labour incessantly, in order to turn them to his purposes.

But though the mutability in those respects has been great, it is nothing to what has taken place in the territorial divisions; and, at least in so far as the native powers are concerned, if one were to mark the exact distributions; for any time, they would in all probability be out of date before they could be published.

This calls for a sort of double division of



India, one for geographical purposes, and the other for statistic and political. Europeans were a long time visiting the shores of the country before they acquired any territorial dominion beyond their own factories; and as they were for a long time accustomed to the enumeration of provinces made by Abul Fazel in 1582, that enumeration is still the best for enabling one easily to understand the localities. While, however, it is convenient to use this enumeration, as a sort of dead language, in Indian geography, it is necessary to bear in mind, that those provinces were nothing more than certain portions of the empire, without any reference to the parties who hold the government, or the way in which that is administered. It is also necessary to bear in mind, that since the power of the British became so predominant in India, they have pushed their knowledge and their influence farther than the Mahomedan empire, even in the zenith of its power: and that, therefore, before the territorial distribution can be extended to the natural limits of India, as marked by the great features of the globe, some additions must be made to the antient enumeration. The subject will also be rendered more perspicuous, if we notice separately the distributions in each of the great divisions of the countries on the Indus and its

branches, from the Hindû Cosh to the central desert ;—Hindûstan proper, from the Himalaya to the plateau of Omerkuntuc, and the Vindhaya ridge, on the north bank of the Nerbudda—including those countries on the north-western slope of the Himalaya, and to the east and south of the Delta of the Ganges, over which British influence now extends ;—the Deccan, from the boundary of India proper, to the river Krishna ;—and southern India, from the Krishna to Cape Comorin. The islands, and the settlements and factories on other and detached parts of the coasts of Asia, which may be necessary to exhibit a complete view of British relations and influence in that part of the world, can be more advantageously noticed apart from continental India.

#### COUNTRIES ON THE INDUS.

Caffristan.—That name, which signifies the country of infidels, is, by the inhabitants of the first plain south of the Hindû Cosh, given to the fastnesses of those mountains, which are inhabited by a primitive people, whom those Mahomedan inhabitants in all probability expelled from the plains. Their manners are peculiar ; and their religion resembles that of the Bhudists, which prevails to the north and north-east of India, and also that of the Jains.

or Hindû infidels, who do not believe in the sacred origin or authority of the Vedas, and esteem the gods of their own mythology only as mortal men, of superior abilities or attainments. The country of these people is confined to the vallies, which are situated between the lofty and snowy summits of the Hindû Cosh. But, considering their great elevation, those valleys are fertile ; and they are very healthy. On the slopes of these mountains the vine is native, and the people also pay a great deal of attention to its culture. These valleys also afford abundance of pasture ; and some wheat and millet ; but these are said to be of inferior quality. The hatred which these people have to their Mahomedan neighbours is implacable, and each man ranks in honour in proportion to the number he has killed ; but among themselves, they seem to be a simple pastoral race ; and thus this hatred of their neighbours is a corroboration of the supposition that their neighbours have, in the early history of the country, driven them from the plains. They cannot be considered as within India, but rather upon the natural frontier ; as the boundary of their country is every where that line of mountain danger beyond which the people of the plain do not feel safe in following them. But some slight notice of that country is necessary, because,

though the passage is an arduous one, India has been invaded in that way, and *may* be so again.

AFGHANISTAN.—That is the general name of the country to the south of the Hindû Cosh, and the west of the Indus. Its boundaries to the west and the south, are rather indefinite. It was once the seat of a powerful kingdom, which extended its arms over great part of India proper; and it is still of importance for its natural riches, and the activity of its people, as well as being the key of India on the west, by which it has been successively invaded, probably since the days of Sesostris. A project by the French, to invade India by the way of Afghanistan, which was among the schemes of 1809, led to an intercourse between the British authorities in India, and the rulers of the Afghans,—thereby bringing within the scope of modern geography, a country which had not attracted much notice for centuries.

The portions of the Afghan territory that are of most importance with reference to India, are the provinces of Candahar and Cabul: the latter lying in the valley of the river Cabul, westward from the Indus at Attock; and the former lying farther to the south and west. But the Afghan power, ever since they lost their sovereignty of India, has been remarkably fluctuating.

tuating, sometimes extending along the right bank of the Indus, indefinitely toward the Arabian Sea; and also including the upper country on the left bank of the Indus, as far as the mountains in the north and east, and a portion of the Punjaub in the south. But the proper geographical boundary (the territorial one is never long the same) is the country to the west of the Indus. Thus restricted, the province of Cabul is the only part of the Afghan territory, of which the knowledge is necessary to form a correct estimate of the relations of India. The centre of that province is a valley, extending from Attock westward, with the central mountains on the north, and the Suliman ridge on the south. Many parts of it are bleak, and have the aspect of deserts; but others are of the greatest fertility. Candahar lies on the whole higher; but there are no mountains in it so elevated as those of Cabul; and, therefore, the winter is not so cold. Except that rice is produced in considerable quantity upon the rich land along the river, Cabul has little in common with India properly so called. Neither have the East India Company shewn any disposition to aid any of the parties that are so frequently contending for its government,—probably from a conviction, that such an interference would em-

broil them in the politics of central Asia, at a point very distant from any at which they have an efficient force.

The chief towns in Cabul are Peshawer, the present capital; with Cabul, which was the capital not very long ago, and is occasionally so still; and Ghizni, which was the seat of the earliest Mahomedan sovereign in these parts. Peshawer is at no great distance west of Attock. The situation is delightful in the highest degree. It stands in a valley, about thirty-five miles in diameter, surrounded by hills, that rise over each other till, especially on the north, they terminate in lofty mountains. The Cabul winds through this valley in several streams, the banks of which are in many places sandy and unproductive; but the rest of the valley is quite a paradise. Great part of it consists of gardens, producing not only the fruits of India, but the choicest ones of Europe, in more abundance and superior quality to those upon which European art has been exercised for nearly two thousand years. The pomegranate, the peach, the plum, the pear, the apple, and the quince, load the boughs, and render it not improbable that this is the native region of those fruits. Those who have investigated the progress of horticulture have been able to trace the garden fruits as far as Persia, before they could find a place



to which they had not been imported ; and really it is by no means improbable that the deciduous fruit trees are natives of those valleys near the Hindû Cosh, while the evergreens, such as the orange and the citron, may have been importations into Persia from regions still farther to the south. The orange was unknown in Europe for a long time after Alexander had penetrated as far as the Ganges, and vessels, both from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, had passed by the Malabar coast to Ceylon. A great deal of trade, chiefly the exchange of Indian and Persian goods, is carried on at Peshawer ; but the province is in a very unsettled state, and the capital is alternately in the hands of the Afghans and the Seik chief of Lahore.

Cabul is a beautiful city, though of smaller dimensions than Peshawer ; and Ghizni, though it presents but the ruins of its imperial grandeur, is still a place of some note. But we want a good account of these countries, as, in most of what is written respecting them, the glories of the past are too much blended with the desolation of the present. These slight notices have been given rather out of place, because the countries to the west of the Indus do not properly form part of India, though in some measure connected with it ; and the same will be

done with all the frontier countries, to which we shall not have to revert a second time.

CACHMERE.—This country, like Cabul and Candahar, formed a part of the Empire of Acbar; and, therefore, Abul Fazel enumerates it among the provinces of India. In all ages it has been a place of great celebrity, as well for the beauty of its situation, as for some of the products of its industry; but, like those last mentioned, it appears to have fallen from its former fame; and recently the people, or rulers, have applied for the protection of the British power, though without obtaining it.

The country of Cachmere consists of a single valley, of an oval form, having the lofty mountains on the north and east, a spur of the same, forming part of Caffristan, on the north-west, and a secondary ridge, which divides it from the hilly part of Lahore, on the south. The length of the valley is about one hundred miles, and the greatest breadth about sixty. The valley is remarkably fertile. Great part of it is level, and consists of the richest soil, most abundantly watered, with a warm but not excessively hot climate in summer, and a mild one in winter. The hills rise gradually on all sides, until, on the north, they reach summits which are always covered with snow; but even those mountains

have a mild climate to an elevation where dwellings are unknown except upon the great Asiatic ridge. Thus there are many climates, and they succeed each other in a very gradual and pleasant manner. The bottom of the valley produces luxuriant crops of rice; and there is a succession of wheat, barley, and the other grains of the cold climates, upon the slopes of the mountains. Fruits are also abundant; and, as is the case in the valley of Cabul, they are chiefly the fruits of Europe. Saffron, of a very superior quality, is produced abundantly in Cachmere, and forms an article of export. The shawls of Cachmere have long been celebrated; but though manufactured in the country, they are not a native product; for the long-haired goat of the fur or down among the hair of which they are made, is confined to the mountainous part of Thibet, and will not live to the south of the Hindû Cosh, or the Himalaya. A rival manufactory has also been set up in Delhi, where the wool can be obtained by the way of Hurdwar, so that it is probable that this staple of Cachmere will fall off.

The city of Cachmere is the largest in the extreme north of this part of India, containing, so late as 1809, a population of between one hundred and fifty thousand, and two hundred thousand inhabitants. Formerly it appears to have been

much greater, and indeed the whole country was in a much better state while it formed part of the Mogul Empire than it has been ever since. The natives are so far from being a warlike people, capable of defending their little spot of beautiful country, that their society is said completely to have enervated the Afghan soldiers, stationed there when the country was a part of the kingdom of Cabul. The Cachmerians are celebrated for the elegance of their appearance, and for their skill in the arts of peace; and were they left so unmolested that they could do justice to it, they have a very fine country,—a country capable of producing almost every luxury, and which, though surrounded by mountains, and placed high above the level of the sea, is so flat and well supplied with water, that canals might be as numerous and as useful as they are in Holland. But the peaceful inhabitants of this beautiful little valley are at the mercy of their more turbulent and savage neighbours; and one cannot contemplate without pain the idea of such a people and such a country going to ruin without any one to protect them. And they lie remote from any power that can be viewed in the light of a protecting one. They are without the range of the British influence, and other than that, there does not appear to be in India any power by

which a weak and peaceable population can be protected, however largely they may pay for protection.

LAHORE.—That is the next province on the Indus. It is a very large province, extending about three hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and at least two hundred from north to south. Its western boundary is the Indus, which divides it from the Afghan country, though, in the summit of their power, a considerable part of it was subject to these people. The boundaries on the north are formed by the Indus and Cachmere; and on the east by the summit of the great ridge of mountains. The provinces of Mûltan, Ajmeer, and Delhi, respectively, form the boundary on the south; but the habitable parts of Ajmeer are separated by a great extent of desert, spotted here and there with habitable but dry and wretched Oases.

Nearly the one half of this extensive province lies among the secondary hills through which the five rivers of the Punjaub have the first part of their course, and the other half consists of the Punjaub itself. The mountain district is very cold during the winters, and its productions have a considerable resemblance to those of Europe. The pine is the prevailing tree in the more elevated forests, and any approxima-

tion to the botany of Hindûstan Proper is unknown. Both the soil and the climate seem inferior to those of Cabul and Cachmere; and the fruits of no country thrive well but on the slope of the hills, where the soil is often collected and confined in artificial terraces. The grain crops, are, in many places, abundant. Even that part of the province which lies in the Punjaub is not so fertile as, from the name that it has got, one would be disposed to conclude. The finer particles of soil are retained among the mountains, and the deposits in the Punjaub are often little else than unproductive sand; while, as the rivers have few branches originating in that part of the country, there is a want of moisture everywhere except in the vicinity of the principal streams.

There is no doubt that, by careful cultivation under a settled government, the Punjaub might become a productive country; for, unsettled as it is, it yields enough of grain for the inhabitants, though very little for exportation. Some rice is grown; but the soil does not appear to be so well adapted for it as that in India Proper, or even in the upper valleys. Wheat, and various sorts of pulse, are the common crops. Pasturage is, however, the prevailing application of those plains. Great numbers of horses are reared in the western doab, between the Indus



and the Jhylum, and herds of oxen and buffaloes in those farther to the east. The farther eastward, the soil is naturally the more sterile ; but it is more carefully cultivated. The salt range of hills passes through the province of Lahore ; and the salt is of such consistency, especially in that portion of the ridge which lies nearest to the Indus, that it is worked into vessels.

In the extreme west of the province, the inhabitants are chiefly Afghans, who live in villages protected by mud walls, and are in a state of continual anarchy. The upper parts of the mountains are in the possession of a number of independent rajahs, or chiefs, who are mostly Mahomedans in profession, but who retain the titles and many of the customs of their Hindû ancestors. The lower portion of the hills, and the Punjaub, are in the hands of the Seik chiefs, who are in a state of almost constant warfare. The people are more robust and brave than those of Hindûstan Proper.

Though there are many villages in the Seik country, there are only two towns, Lahore and Amritsir. Lahore, which stands on the left bank of the Ravey, was once a large and flourishing city, and has been the seat of the imperial government ; but since the dismemberment of that power, it has been subject to con-

stant plunder and calamity, and is in a state of decay. The inhabitants, generally speaking, are poor, and the houses in ruins. Great part of the province has been subject or tributary to the rajah of Lahore ; but the government is one of force—unstable, and not calculated to improve either the people or the country.

Amritsir, which is about forty miles to the eastward of Lahore, is not in so ruinous a state, being revered as a holy city by all the Seik chiefs, even when they are in hostility with each other. In consequence of this, the town is not defended by walls. The buildings in Amritsir are good, and the people active ; there is a considerable trade through it, and it contains a number of rich people.

Though, at present, it bears very little upon that part of India in which the British are more immediately interested, yet Lahore is a very interesting country. It is one from which the antient invaders carried off a great deal of plunder ; and though it was at one time, perhaps, more completely under Mahomedan controul than any part of India, it is the one in which the condition of the remaining Mahomedan population is, perhaps, the lowest, they being, throughout all the low country, a poor and oppressed people. Should any of those political convulsions, which nobody can either foresee or

deny the possibility, but in which one is almost tempted to believe that the circumstances are preserved for the man, and the man fitted to avail himself of them,—should any of those come, and involve among its operations or results an invasion of India by land, Lahore would become one of the most important portions of the whole country; and the future invader would be able to stimulate his courage with the thought that they had drawn the sword upon the same plain where the successive invaders, for two thousand years, had sheathed it only in victory; and that while the flood of time has swept away the victors, and all effects and vestiges of their victory, the country and the people are, probably, not very different from what they were at the time of the first invasion.

Lahore is interesting in another point of view:—there is probably much mineral wealth in its mountains; and the botany of those mountains, from the very little that is known of it, appears to have something of an European character. Information is, however, wanted upon those points; and at present there seems to be no political inducement—the only inducement that operates powerfully, in the east—for the obtaining of it.

MULTAN.—In the time of Acber, when Abul

Fazel drew up his institutes, Mûltan comprised the whole valley of the Indus, from Lahore to the sea, and from the confines of Persia to the central desert; but the name is now restricted to a portion of surface, extending about one hundred miles in length and seventy in breadth, and occupying the south-west part of the Punjaub, and a portion of the desert to the south-east. The portion which lies within the Punjaub is subject to seasonal floods, or can be watered by cuts from the rivers, and, accordingly, it is fertile; but that which lies beyond the influence of the streams, is sandy, destitute of grass, covered with hard prickly bushes, and contains very few inhabitants. With the exception of the portion alluded to, this is indeed one of the most miserable countries on the face of the earth; and poor and wretched as the people are, their condition is rendered more miserable by the inroads of their neighbours. The Seiks of Lahore, the Afghans, the people of Sind, at the mouth of the Indus, all by turns overrun Mûltan, and waste it at their pleasure, as the inhabitants are too few and scattered for making an effective resistance. The city of Mûltan is on the left bank of the Chinaub, about eight hundred miles from the sea by the course of the rivers. The country is fertile, and has once been beautiful; but the villages round are in

ruins ; and that will, in all probability, soon be the fate of the city itself. The more immediate cause of the ruin of this well situated city and its fertile environs, appears to have been the payment of a large tribute to a foreign power, and then the inroads of the Sindeans and Seiks into a country previously exhausted. There is still a nominal nabob of Mûltan ; but he is always tributary to the last invader. Of course some vast change must take place before such a country, separated as it is by an extensive desert, can have any influence upon the affairs of India.

BAHAWULPOOR occupies the Punjaub lower down than Mûltan, with part of the desert.. It resembles Mûltan both in its character and its fate. The moist part of it would be rich if the people were protected. The principal town, which has the same name as the country, is situated on the Sutledj, and was once famed for its silk manufactures. Ooch, at the confluence of the Punjaub rivers with the Indus, appears to have been once a place of importance, but it has fallen off. Indeed the whole of India to the westward of the great desert, and which is without the range of European influence, appears to be the ruin of what it once was ; and destined, in all probability, to be farther ruined

still; and yet many parts of it have all the physical elements of the greatest prosperity.

SINDE.—That is the name given to the country on the lower part of the Indus. Like the others it is detached from India proper by the desert, and influenced by the fluctuating politics to which the whole valley, from the mountains to the sea, is exposed; but as it has a good deal of trade with Bombay,—as the British once had a factory in the country,—as they have come in contact with the Ameers, or modern rulers,—and as British influence now extends over the adjacent provinces of Gujerat and Ajmeer, this country has more connexion with India proper than any other on the Indus. Many parts of the low lands on the Indus are fertile; but, owing to the nature of the government, that fertility is not turned to the best account. Still, as all the export and import trade (such as it is) of the valley of the Indus is carried on through Sinde, the country is of some importance now. But, looking back at the whole valley, it appears to have been divided into a number of petty states, squabbling with and spoiling each other, unless when the strong hand of foreign conquest was upon it; and such it is likely to remain, as the little states are too scattered and too turbulent for being united into a regular government,—as the country could



not pay for keeping one up,—and as such a government could not very long be supported by mere glory—even by the glory of pilfering a few villages, stopping up a few wells, and cutting down a few date palms in the desert.

#### INDIA PROPER—FRONTIER COUNTRIES.

When we pass the central desert, and approach the valley of the Ganges, there is a wonderful change in the country. There is no more of arid wilderness; and now, though there has been much hard fighting in order to attain it, there is no feud within, and no fear of hostile inroad from without. These are the elements of a paradise; and where their religious notions and prejudices are not interfered with, there is a population, thronged as bees, and plastic as wax, to put those elements in motion. This is not the place, neither perhaps is the present the time, for entering into any moral disquisition on the state of India; but, however it has been brought about, it is pleasant to contemplate a country so large, so fertile, so populous, and having a population who have shown themselves so passive amidst the changes of dynasties and systems of government, in a state which gives promise that they shall be exempted from war, and brought into that state without any unprecedented diminu-

tion of their numbers or accession of misery. When the whole outline of India is before us we shall be able to revert to this question, better prepared for taking an impartial view of it, although, even then, we shall probably find the data very imperfect; but it is a question that arises whenever the attention turns to the Valley of the Ganges; and therefore we mention it now, merely to show that we must put it aside, until we shall be better prepared for it.

Besides the provinces which are actually within the Valley of the Ganges, and under the immediate power or influence of the British, there is a line of smaller ones, which skirt the north and east sides, and over which the British exert an influence, but with the government and revenue of which they have not hitherto interfered to any great extent. Those countries in general occupy the hilly tract which lies between the summits of the Himalaya and the Valley of the Ganges; and the British possession has been actually extended nearly five hundred miles eastward, along the valley of the Brahmapootra, and southward along the Bay of Bengal, to nearly the 18th degree of latitude; but those recent accessions, which were the results of the Burmese war, are now portions of the province of Bengal.

SIRHIND.—That country is within the pro-

vince of Delhi, of which it occupies the north-west corner, having the Sutledj and country of the Lahore Seiks on the north; the desert on the south-west; and the British province of Delhi on the south and east. This country is in general an arid waste, the few streams that are in it flowing toward the south-west, and being lost in the desert. It is inhabited by independent Seik chiefs; but the British have a military station at Ludheeana, near the banks of the Sutledj. This part of India is famous in history as the scene of many of those battles which, during the numerous invasions, decided the fate of the country; and the town of Sirhind was once a place of some consequence, but it is now in ruins, as are also the canals from the Sutledj, which the Mogul Emperors planned, and partly executed, for the purpose of irrigating and rendering fertile this thirsty land.

GURWAL, or *Gurhawal*, is the next mountain province to the eastward, or rather to the north-eastward of the Seik possessions in Sirhind. In the north-west it extends to the banks of the Sutledj; in the north-east to the summit of the Himalaya, and on the east and south, to the British province of Delhi,—extended somewhat beyond the limits which it had in the time of the Moguls. Formerly it used to extend southward to Hurdwar, where

the Ganges enters the plain, and eastward to the confines of Nepâl; but its boundary is now restricted to the Alacananda branch of the Ganges; the remotest source of which, the Dauli, rises on the other side of the Himalaya; and Sirinagur, its former capital, is within the British boundary. Though a remarkably mountainous country, some parts of Gurwal are very fertile. The branches of the Ganges are fine streams, and some of the slopes and valleys are remarkably beautiful. From its south-western aspect, too, the climate is more mild than from the great elevation would be supposed. By the last arrangement with the British, the court of the Gurwal rajah is fixed at Barahaut, on the right bank of the Ganges, about forty-eight miles north-west of Sirinagur, which, previous to being raised to this honour, was a village, consisting of a few miserable hovels, buried among weeds. The rajah administers the affairs, and pays the expenses of his government; but he is protected by British soldiers, and, in fact, completely the servant of the British. The region is important in Hindûstan, as containing the holy ground whence the deified streams of the true Ganges issue.

KUMAON, though now a British possession, and, as such, forming an integral part of the

province of Delhi,—Kumaon is so recently acquired, and so similar in its character to the states of Gurwal and Nepâl, between which it is situated, that the consideration of it as separate, is more accordant with that geographical arrangement which makes the permanent features of countries a key to their political divisions. In this point of view, Kumaon is a sort of four-sided-figure, extending about ninety miles in each direction. The low country of Delhi is on the south-east; the summit of the Himalaya on the north-east; Gurwal, separated by the Alacananda and Dauli branches of the Ganges, on the north-west; and Nepâl, separated by the Cali branch of the Gogra, on the south-east. Kumaon is important, as commanding some of the best passes across the Himalaya; and it contains mines of copper, and, probably, also of other metals.

One of the greatest general advantages (besides that of putting an end to the feuds and squabbles of the mountain chiefs) which will result from the occupation of this part of the Himalaya by the British, must be the information that they must, in the course of time, obtain of the structure and appearance of the Himalaya in particular, and of the geography of the central parts of Asia generally. Already, more is known of this country than of any

other on the same lofty ridge; and it may not be amiss to notice one or two particulars:—

From the Ganges at Hurdwar, or, eastward, but bending a little to the south in the middle, to the Cali branch of the Gogra, a distance of about one hundred miles, may be considered as the termination of the plains of the Rohilcund district of Delhi; and the ground begins to ascend, and is covered with thick brushwood, at first interspersed with marshes, as is very common along the base of mountains. After a little ascent, the trees are of larger size, though still of the same species, or, at least, genera, with those that are found in the plain. As the ascent is continued, the tropical vegetation begins to disappear; rhododendron and its associates become the bushes; the oak and the pine the trees; the flowering plants and scandent epidendra give place to ferns, mosses, and lichens; and the brakes are filled with wild raspberries, barberries, brambles, thorns, and briars, intermixed with hollies, willows, wild pears, and mulberries, according to the nature of the soil. The larger annual plants are, various kinds of nettles and thistles; and the whole has the character of a tangled wild in Europe. This begins to be the prominent character at an elevation of between two thousand and three thousand feet; and above three thousand feet it



is general for a limited height. Those trees at last become few, and the prevailing class is the pine, of which there are several species, some of them of great size ; and with them we should expect the vaceiniums, some of which have been mentioned. As the ascent continues, the pines become fewer, and are found only in straggling clumps, and of stunted dimensions ; while, just as we would expect upon the mountains of Norway or Scotland, the birch, gradually changing to the dwarf species, is the last tree, and moss and lichen the only vegetation near the snow ; and long before the twenty-six thousand feet, which is about the elevation of the most lofty summit in Kumaon, is reached, (if reached it shall ever be by mortal foot) there will, of course, be an end to all vegetation. The tiger is mentioned as being abundant in this upland country, and found even near the snow ; but the probability is, that the animal taken for the tiger may have been some other of the feline race, better adapted to the rigour of the climate. Years of observation will be required before even an idea can be formed of the advantages that science may reap from the British occupation of Kumaon, if that occupation be turned to proper account. Nowhere has study so great a range of elevation : and that within a few

days' march of the rich plain of the Ganges, and in a country of which the valleys could be rendered very productive.

NEPAL.—Nepâl occupies the next, and by far the largest, portion of the hilly country between the Himalaya and the plain of the Ganges. Nepâl extends from the Kali branch of the Gogra, which divides it from Kumaon, nearly five hundred miles south-eastward, to the bank of the Conki, by which it is separated from Sikkim. On the east it may indeed be regarded as bounded by British territory, for a spur belonging to the British stretches half way to the Himalaya, between the Teesta and the Mitchee, an eastern branch of the Conki; and the Rajah of Sikkim, whose small territory lies between the British frontier and the mountains, is under the British protection. On the south-west it is bounded by the plain of the Ganges—the povinces of Delhi, Oude, Bahar, and Bengal, which are in the actual possession of the British along the whole boundary, with the exception of about sixty miles which still belongs (nominally) to the Nabob of Oude. The northern boundary is the Himalaya, the adjoining country, Thibet, and the ruling people, the Chinese. The breadth in this direction is, on the average, rather more than one hundred miles.

Nepâl is opposite to the most elevated part of the Himalaya ; and the base of those mountains occupies a broader space than at the sources of the Ganges and Jumnah. The courses of the rivers, too, are a little different. The Dewa, or eastern branch of the Gogra, indeed, flows across the west end of Nepâl, nearly at right angles to the length of the country ; but farther down, the Gunduck, and afterwards the Cosi, take directions nearly corresponding with that of the centre of the country, till, turning to the right, they escape through passes in the hills which separate the valley of Nepâl from the plain of the Ganges. Those passes, and also the passes from several of the interior valleys to others, have all the appearance of having been worn, through a long succession of years, by the action of the streams ; and therefore there is every probability that the whole valley generally, and the individual portions of it severally, may at one time have been lakes. Like the Vale of Cachmere, and that of Peshawer in the province of Cabul, they contain a great portion of rich alluvial soil. In the valley of Nepâl, there are two great natural divisions—one in which flows the Gunduck and its branches, and another that contains the Cosi. Catmandao, the capital, is situated upon the elevated ground between the sources of branches

of those two rivers, and is elevated about four thousand five hundred miles above the level of the sea. It is but a small town, and by no means splendid. The eastern branch of the Gunduck (the Bogmutty) comes from several valleys that lie to the north of the capital, while the principal or eastern branch comes from the eastern side of the immense mountain of Dhawalaghiri, farther to the north-west. There is another city, Ghooka, about forty miles to the north-west of Catmandao, which has the same name as the people who now have the chief rule in Nepâl; but there is not much known respecting it.

The several valleys of Nepâl have great varieties of elevation and exposure, so that the productions are very varied. In one vallée the bamboo and the rattan form jungles, as luxuriant as in the low country; in others, hardly any tree is to be met with but the pine and the oak; the crop of one valley is barley or millet; that of another consists of sugar-canes, in a state of luxuriant perfection. The periodical rains, which, attracted by the lofty mountains, fall with much violence, are very unfavourable to the ripening of fruit; but the orange succeeds well, as it comes to perfection in the dry season; and, for a similar reason, the pine-apple is excellent in those plains that

are warm enough for bringing it to maturity. The mountain slopes are often cultivated in terraces, after the Chinese fashion ; and as, from the perpetual reservoir in the snow upon the lofty summits, abundance of water can always be commanded, that mode of cultivation is successful.

The mineral riches of Nepâl have not been examined with much care. Iron, lead, and copper are said to be plentiful, and zinc and gold have also been found. But still the mineralogy of the whole range of the Himalaya and the Hindû Cosh may be considered as an unstudied subject.

SIKKIM.—The small state of Sikkim is situated on the south-east of Nepâl, in absolute position, though the Nepaulese territory, in part, bounds it on the south. That portion is the Morung district, from which Sikkim had been invaded by the Gorkhas of Nepâl, before the interference of the British. The other part of the southern boundary of this little state is the British frontier, and it extends thence to the Himalaya, a distance of about sixty miles ; while its extent in the other, from the Conki, on the frontier of Nepâl, to the Teesta. on that of the territories of the Deb Rajah of Bootan, is about forty miles. The upper part of this small state is very mountainous, and the lower

part, though fertile, is overrun by jungles, and unwholesome; so that, considered in itself, it is not very important. With regard to the general politics of Asia, it is, however, of far greater consequence. The most easy communication between the rulers of India Proper and the Chinese authorities in Thibet, is through the passes of Sikkim; and since the British influence predominated with the rajah, some communications have taken place, of a more friendly nature than the usual character of Chinese intercourse.

There is another advantage in maintaining the independence of Sikkim. A short time ago, the Gorkhas of Nepâl were pushing their conquests, both to the east and the west, with so much vigour and success that they would soon have encircled the Valley of the Ganges with a cordon of their power, by means of which they would not only have cut off all communication between the countries on the different sides of the mountains, but might have committed depredations on the plains, and regained their fastnesses before they could have been followed. The two breaks which the British power has made in this line, by their dependent in Gurwal, and their own territory of Kumaon on the west; and by their dependent of Sikkim, on the east, have put an end to



even the chance of so formidable a combination, while they have at least laid the foundation of an internal intercourse across the mountains. Now, as the prejudices must in time subside, and as, from the great difference of the productions of the countries on the opposite sides of the mountains, an exchange, to a greater extent than has yet been carried on, would be of the utmost advantage, the opening of the two passes to the Chinese frontier must be regarded as an important service done to the commercial liberty of Asia.

BOOTAN.—This name, which is by the Hindûs applied to the whole line of the mountain country, from the pass of the Indus, to as far east as the Himalaya have been explored, and which has been used by some geographers as a synonyme for Thibet, is generally now restricted to the portion of country on the south side of the mountains, to the eastward of the Teesta, and thence, probably, about two hundred and fifty miles in the same direction, though its limits have not yet been explored. The breadth varies; but upon the average it is about ninety or one hundred miles.

Bootan is, in its physical appearance probably the most singular country in the world. It is the land of extremes. Summits clad with perennial snow; huge cliffy rocks, upon which

there is no vegetation ; hills verdant with forests, and dells abounding in streams, and excessive with vegetation, are blended together in the most wonderful manner. Along the margin of this singular inland country, there extends a hill, or border of plain, equally singular. The rains do not fall in so heavy torrents, or the rivers so tear their banks as in many other places. The alluvion is accordingly brought slowly down, and laid along by the base of the mountains in a porous stratum, through which water bubbles up in all places, and at all times, while from the situation and the latitude, the heat in summer is excessive. But, from the melting of the snow, the absorbent and porous nature of the soil, and the overshadowing influence of so much vegetation, this low land is never dried ; and the only effect of the summer heat is to quicken the vegetation, and envelope it in steaming exhalations, which are rank with the most pestilent miasmata. This plain, which is more than twenty miles in average breadth, separates the Bootan hills from the cultivated fields of Bengal ; but it sheds its baneful influence partly upon these. It presents the singular spectacle of a wilderness produced by the excess of vegetable energy, and the means by which that energy works. The forest trees upon it are of great bulk, and they are full of underwood,

among which the elephant and the rhinoceros are the principal inhabitants.

Beyond this formidable barrier, through which there are passes, the country is not unhealthy, and it supports a race of mountaineers, who are strong and brawny compared with the natives of Bengal. There are great variations in the climate; and while the inhabitants of the valleys are obliged to shade themselves from the destructive influence of the sun, those of the mountains are shivering amid snow and ice; and yet they are within sight of each other. Some of the mountains are of great elevation. Tchamalari, which looks down from the north upon Tassisudon, the capital, and is said to have in the bosom of its vast precipices, toward the north, an extensive lake that never thaws, has an elevation of very nearly five miles perpendicular; and the country contains every variety of altitude between that and the plain of Bengal.

When the more elevated parts of the country are reached, vegetation is found to have that European character which is so characteristic of the whole range of the Himalaya. The oak, if found at all, is not so common as farther to the north; but ash, and maple, and yew, are met with, and these are succeeded by pine and birch. The strawberry and the

raspberry grow wild, mixed with thickets of bramble; and most of the fruits cultivated in Europe are found. The walnut, the mulberry, the pear, the apple, the peach, the pomegranate, and the orange. Even the turnip is met with, far better than in the warmer parts of Europe, and equal to that of Scotland, or of the north of the Continent. But, in every thing relating to it, Bootan is a singular country.

ASSAM.—That is the common name of the valley of the Brahmapootra, at least of the lower part of it—for the inhabitants of the southern slope of the Himalaya are called Bhootas, as far as the country is known. Assam, too, has undergone many political changes since the close of the sixteenth century, when Abul Fazel described its monarch as “a powerful prince, who lives in great state, and when he dies, his principal attendants, both male and female, are voluntarily buried alive along with his corpse.” The latter is no unusual occurrence in this part of the world, and it is no proof of power. So late as the year 1816, one of the rannies, or queens, and five of the principal female attendants of the Rajah of Nepâl, voluntarily burned themselves on the same pile with the body.

As to the power, again, it has been the invan

riable fate of all native states south of the Himalaya, to “come like shadows,” and “so depart,” and a geography of that part of the world, drawn up according to the territorial boundaries at any one time, would be a map on the sand—the wave would have swept away some of its lines, before the maker could announce its existence. Political distributions are *events* everywhere; and here they are events of so fleeting a nature, that even the historian that would keep pace with them must have the wings of an eagle perpetually on the stretch. The geographer must lay hold of the rocks and the mountains, as the only certain criteria of prolonged identity.

The low grounds of Assam, along the Brahmapootra, are at present woody, swampy, and pestilent; but they appear to be so only because they are neglected. On the mountains the air is healthy, and the weather mild. Nature, certainly, has done her part; and is no more to be blamed for the pestilential swamps that have been occasioned through the neglect of her bounty, than she is for the dead bodies which, floating down the sacred Ganges, are alike offensive to the senses and the feelings of an European. Mankind should not be alarmed at a swamp, even though it be unhealthy, and infested with wild beasts. It is but yesterday since

the wind could not shift to the east without half of England shaking in an ague, since “the plague of leprosy” was in every parish, and since London was half depopulated by pestilence. Where are those calamities now? Ask the pick-axe, the ploughshare, the mattock, and the broom ! And what these have worked in one country they would work in another. The length of the river, the vicinity of the sources of the Irawati and of China, render this the most interesting part of the Indian frontier ; and if British influence continues to preponderate in India, it must extend in this direction.

South of the bend of the Brahmapootra, the British territory extends for more than five hundred miles along the coast, and includes the territories of Silhet, Chittagong, and Arracan, —influencing, in fact, the whole of a most varied and valuable country, as far as the frontier of China.

SILHET.—This detached country, which lies on the left bank of the Brahmapootra, occupying the lower part of a valley formed by the Garraws Hills on the north, and the Tipera Hills on the east and south, has been a portion of Bengal since the time of the Mogul Emperors ; but of late years it has been extended till it includes the whole of Cachar, and thus occu-



pies a space extending about one hundred and forty miles south from the Brahmapootra, and hundred miles eastward. The river Soorma, which falls into the Brahmapootra, about the middle of the west side, is navigable by boats, and so are several of the other streams, of which there are many.

The soil is very rich ; but the low lands are flooded during the rains, and there are many swampy jungles and damp forests toward the hills, which render the air unwholesome. The surface toward those hills is very irregular, and some of them, which are very precipitous and difficult to pass, rise to the height of five thousand or six thousand feet. The possession of this province commands the whole of the Brahmapootra, and the little states as far as the frontier of China. The country is susceptible of great improvement, and appears to have received very little. In the time of the Moguls it was a slave-market for Bengal, and the traffic is not yet wholly abolished ; though the established influence of *one* authority within all the natural boundaries must contribute to the ultimate improvement of all parts.

CHITTAGONG.—The Chittagong district occupies about one hundred and fifty miles of the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, immediately south of the extended territory of Silhet, and it

stretches inwards about fifty miles. There are several large and low islands in the eastern estuary of the Ganges off the coast of Chittagong, the chief of which are Hattia, Sundeep, and Bameeny; and among these, the sea is often very violent and dangerous during the monsoons. As this country meets the monsoon immediately from the sea, and as the country in the immediate neighbourhood is high, and the air cold on the summits from the evaporation occasioned by the immense masses of foliage in the forests, the climate is remarkably rainy, and cannot, in its present state, be healthy. The sea coast is often in floods, in the contest between which and the waves of the bay, the land is often washed away; the bottoms of the hills are forest and jungle, the habitation and the delight of the elephant; and though the hills must be fertile, and should not be unhealthy, they have not been much visited by Europeans. It has been already mentioned, that there is abundant of timber, well adapted for ship-building, and also a good harbour, at Chittagong; but, from the great humidity of the soil and climate, the timber is not so good as that of the same species which grows upon the comparatively dry hills on the Malabar coast.

ARRACAN lies immediately to the south of the Chittagong district, occupies about two

hundred miles of the coast, and reaches indefinitely (probably about fifty miles) inward. The greater part of it is covered by one continuous jungle, which extends from the hills to near the sea; and the coast land so alternates with portions of water, that almost the only passage is by boats. It is a country of perpetual rain; and between June and September inclusive, there falls as much as two hundred inches, or about as much as falls during ten years at Upminster, in Essex. Vegetation is, however, excessively vigorous, and the land toward the hills is strong and good; but at present the whole country, especially the capital and its neighbourhood, is pestilent and not fit for the abode of Europeans.

After about one hundred and forty miles of coast to the south, and rather more to the east, comprehending in the latter the mouths of the Burmese rivers, a British territory again occurs on the coast—the districts of Martaban, Tavoy, and Tenasserim, or Mergui. Taken all together those districts stretch along the western shore of the Eastern Peninsula for a length of between four hundred and five hundred miles, and reach about fifty into the interior, though their boundary in that direction is not very definite. They are acquisitions since 1825, and very little is yet known respecting them.

MARTABAN.—The British portion of this province (that upon the coast, from the river Salaen southward) extends about seventy miles in length, from about lat. sixteen and half to lat., fifteen and half, and indefinitely to the eastward to the mountains of Siam. When this country came into the possession of the British, it had been almost depopulated, and had reverted to a state of nature; and yet, under this disadvantage, it is a country of some promise. As the peninsula is very narrow, the heat is not so oppressive as in Bengal; the rains are not so constant as in Arracan; and thus the climate is far more healthy. In the meantime, the greater part of the surface is overrun by forest; but in the little spots that have been cleared, the soil is excellent; and the vigour of the forests is a proof that where they are it is equally so. Indeed it is difficult to point out a country better adapted for all sorts of tropical productions; and it is free from the moral objection which often lies against settlements. When it came into the hands of the British, it was *nobody's country*. In addition to the great length of sea coast, this district has the advantage of navigable rivers—indeed almost every torrent becomes navigable during the rains.

TAVOY, including Tenasserim or Mergui, occupies about three hundred and fifty miles of

the coast to the south of Martaban. Along the shore there are many islands and rocks, some of the former of considerable extent and fertile; the margin of the land abounds in rich alluvial flats, separated by rocks and inlets of the sea; and the country behind is mostly forest and jungle; but the soil is of the very best description, and the climate is healthy.

This coast indeed, all in a state of nature as it is, is a rich treasure, compared with even the fertile plains of Bengal; and, under proper management, it might soon repay the cost of the Burmese war—not in wealth alone, but in human happiness. It is as if India and the Oriental Archipelago were blended together. The rice, the indigo, the sugar-cane, and the cotton of the former, may all meet with their congenial soils, whether they require the wet system of husbandry or the dry; and upon the hills, in addition to all the native or imported fruits that grow in India, there are those glories of the vegetable kingdom, the mangosteen (*garcinia mangostana*), and the durion (*zebethinus durion*), which cannot be matured in India, or in any place west or north of the Strait of Malacca, but this delightful coast. Nor is there any reason to doubt that, along with these, the most delicate of the favourites of Pomona, there will be found, or may be introduced, the

clove, the nutmeg, and “all the spices of the East;” and that merchants will not “bring their spicey drugs” alone “from Ternate, and Tidore;” but that the paradise of the Muloccas, will be realized upon the shores of the Bay of Bengal.

Some apology may be necessary for the introduction of those brief remarks, by which the course of our simple enumeration is rather interrupted; but it is so seldom that a great and unexpected good comes out of the evil of war, that one cannot help feeling it when it does come. Here is an extent of country capable of maintaining in comfort, say ten—say twenty (for the produce of irrigated rice plains is unbounded) millions of human beings; and no place can be more advantageously situated for commerce;—here is the chosen spot of the earth—not captured over the bleeding bodies of its inhabitants, and the smoking ruins of their villages; but won from the wilderness—redeemed from the destruction of excessive fertility,—from the running to waste of those powers of Nature which, if but half directed, would make millions happy. This, too, has been done in an age when much of the prejudice, and, as one may hope, a good deal of the shortsighted selfishness and cruelty of adventurers, have been got rid of, and the identity of



interests, in the rulers and the ruled, is better known at least than at any former period.

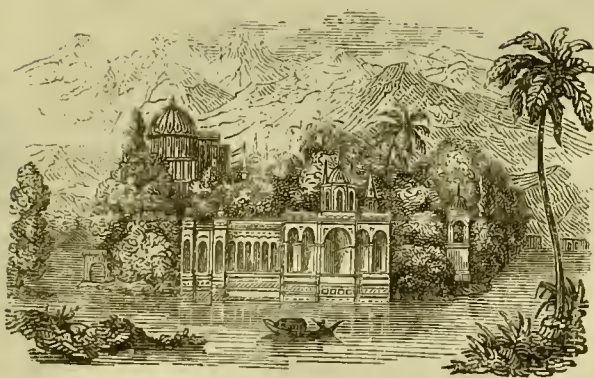
One very conspicuous advantage of this most recent addition to the British empire in India is the great facility with which, by means of the monsoons, it can be reached; and the safe landing that there is for a much longer period of the year than upon the coast even of Malabar. The Mergui Archipelago is a farther protection; and are in fact safe harbours for all the fleets that could by possibility be collected. They are elevated and rocky; they extend from north to south, in a succession of chains, sometimes as many as four or five; the channels between them are deep, and even while the sea on the outside is foaming with all the fury of the monsoons, the water in the inner channels is as still and placid as that of a lake. Those channels are so many too, and they lie in directions so varied, that no wind can blow from which a ship shall not be able to find shelter. The islands which lie nearest to the coast are fertile, and those farther out are rocky and covered with timber. A complete survey has not been made; but it appears that there is an abundant supply of fresh water in all the islands. The possession of the Mergui Archipelago has another advantage. In times of war they harboured privateers; and during the

late war, the British trade in the Bay of Bengal suffered from French vessels that were sheltered and refitted among the Mergui islands.

We have dwelt a little in detail upon these eastern frontiers of India, because they are the least known to general readers ; and because, besides the interests that they have in themselves, they have an additional one as connecting India with the east of Asia.

## CHAPTER VI.

## PROVINCES.



PALACE AND LAKE—ODEYPOOR.

IN the enumeration of the remaining divisions of India, we may be more brief,—they are better known to general readers, and they possess interest only as parts of one general whole, to which we shall have to advert afterwards.

Still the leading positions are essential to the obtaining of a clear and correct view of the subject; and, therefore, we shall enumerate them, in the several greater divisions of India, with as much brevity as possible.

#### INDIA PROPER.

The provinces contained in this division, east and south of the desert, are Delhi, Ajmeer, Agra, Oude, Gujerat, Malwa, Allahabad, Bahar, and Bengal. These all lie compactly together; and, with the exception of Gujerat, and part of Ajmeer and Malwa, are all contained in the Valley of the Ganges.

DELHI.—This extensive province occupies the whole breadth of the northern part of Hindûstan, from the central desert to the hilly countries on the east. From north to south, it may be considered as extending from latitude  $28^{\circ}$  to  $31^{\circ}$ ; and its extreme dimensions are about two hundred and forty miles by two hundred; so that it of itself would form a considerable kingdom. On the north, the Sutledj separates it from Lahore, and the hills from the mountain states, except in the Kumaon district, where it extends to the summits of the Himalaya. On the north-east, the Cali branch of the Gogra separates it from Nepâl; and the Oude forms the remainder of the eastern boundary. Agra and

Ajmeer form the boundary on the south; and Ajmeer and Lahore that on the west.

The general slope of the province of Delhi is to the south, being that of the beds of the Ganges and Jumnah, by which it is traversed; and in the cross section the greatest elevation is a little to the west of the Jumnah; which elevation, to the north of the city of Delhi, becomes a ridge of low hills, that joins the mountains between the Jumnah and the Sutledj. Though the Ganges and the Jumnah rise in the same mountains, and have their sources at no great distance from each other, the effects which they have upon the countries through which they pass are very different. The Ganges is a fertilizing stream; the deposits which it makes are mud, and where its waters overflow, an increase of vegetation is always the result. The deposits of the Jumnah, on the other hand, are washed and unproductive sand; and its waters are so impregnated with carbonate of soda, that they poison the useful vegetation wherever they come. Neither the sand nor the salt, however, appears to come from the mountains, but to be taken up in the wide plain above the city of Delhi.

Aridity is the character of the whole province, to within a short distance of the Ganges; and constant attention is demanded to prevent

the Jumnah from flowing, for a considerable part of its course, across a desert of sand and salt. Those means had, during the long succession of troubles that followed the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe, in 1707, been suspended; and when, in 1803, the British gained the ascendancy, and the representative of the mightiest monarch of the east became their stipendiary, the city of Delhi was in ruins, and the country around in desolation. As the banks of the Sutledj are approached, the country is not quite so arid and desolate; there are abundance of mango-trees, and the people obtain crops of wheat, barley, and pulse; but even there they must have recourse to artificial watering in the dry season; and the earth is not retentive enough for affording a supply till they have dug wells to the depth of at least eighteen feet. That is nothing, however, to the state of things farther to the south. The rivers that rise in the upper part of the Seik states, in Sirhind, are all lost in the desert; and appear to be really shortened of their former courses, which *may*, at some very remote period, have extended all the way to the sea. In the dry season they now barely reach the Hurriana district, on the south of Sirhind; and in the lower parts of their courses, the water is then brackish and bad. When the rain does



come they overflow their banks, and the fields for a time look green and gay ; but they do so only for a time : and the husbandman must either see his crop wholly perish, or, under a burning sun, and in an atmosphere caustic with saline effluvia, draw a scanty supply of brackish water from a depth of two hundred feet. Of these temporary rivers, Sereswati, which was once the most celebrated, has now nearly disappeared ; and had the troubles, and consequent neglect of the arts, with which the country was afflicted for a century previous to 1803, been continued for a century or two longer, there is every probability that the Jumnah would have become a seasonal stream, shortening more and more every season, and that the drifting sand would soon have invaded the sacred Ganges itself. As it was, the country around Delhi, which has no natural supply of water but from the Jumnah, had become nearly uninhabitable ; and there was nothing wherewithal to refresh vegetation and quench thirst but the saline and pestilent water of the Jumnah, or that water drawn from wells, where, instead of being purified by filtration, it had imbibed more deleterious ingredients from the tainted soil.

This is not the place to tell the tale of the imperial city of Delhi—

“ Where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,  
Shower’d on her kings barbarick pearls and gold,”

and showered it upon her kings only ; but it is impossible to omit noticing Lord Lake’s entrance into the city on the 12th of September 1803, as the only time when a conqueror came within its walls, for peace, and not for plunder—to build and not to burn. In the better days of the Mahomedan empire (it was not Mogul, though vulgarly called so, for Baber, the founder, was a Turk, and disliked Moguls so much, that he would not have been very well satisfied with the name of his dynasty), the city of Delhi had been watered, and the surrounding country rendered fertile, by water brought in canals from the Jumnah, higher up than at the place at which it becomes impregnated with carbonate of soda. These canals had been dry and in ruins for a long time ; but the British began the repairs of one (Ali Murdun Khan’s) in 1817 ; and as, in the summer of 1821, its fertilizing and healthful tide approached the city, the delighted inhabitants thronged to greet its approach, while the gods of all the mythologies of the East, were implored to shower down their blessings upon the generous benefactors of the grateful multitude.

The Rohilcund district of the province, on

the left bank of the Ganges, and eastward of that river, to the banks of the Gogra and the province of Oude, is a very different country; being equally famed for the fertility of its soil and the mildness of its climate. Beside the Ganges on the west, and the Gogra on the east, there are many fine streams, rising in the hills of Kumaon, that traverse the whole length of the country. By these, and by canals and reservoirs, that have been formed from them, the country is well watered. The sand of those streams which issue from the hills of Kumaon, contains a considerable quantity of gold dust, though no mine of that metal has ever been worked in India. Gold dust is found, however, at different parts throughout the whole length of the Himalaya, from the tributaries of the Indus to those of the Brahmapootra.

But the wealth of Rohilcund does not consist in its gold, but in its vegetation; and it is only on that account that it is wealthy. Of all countries in the world, gold-producing ones are the most wretched to the inhabitants; and of all trades, that of a seeker for gold is the worst.

The produce of the East and of Europe are found together in this part of India—sugarcanes and wheat, palms and apple trees. But during the last twenty-five years of the eighteenth

century, the country was sadly wasted; and though its recovery be begun and progressive, not more than half of the surface is under cultivation.

AJMEER.—This province lies nearly in the centre of Hindûstan, upon the south-east side of the desert, and through the greater part of its extent, partaking very much of the same dry and dismal character. Where, however, water occurs, the Oases are beautiful, and their beauty is much heightened by the sterile aspect of the surrounding space. The boundary to the west is Sinde; to the north lie Mûltan and part of Delhi; to the east, Delhi and Agra; and to the south Malwa and Gujerat. Though not a productive province, it is a large one, the length from north to south being about three hundred and fifty miles, and the breadth from east to west about two hundred and twenty miles. From the nature of the adjoining districts, the boundaries on the west and north are not very definite. As the greater part of the province belongs to the Rajpoot princes, who are under the protection of the British, the province of Ajmeer is often designated Rajpootana. In crossing the country from the Shekawutty district (that which lies to the south of the Hurriana district of Delhi) to Bahawalpoor, on the Sutledj, and about sixty

miles south-east of the city of Mûltan, the character of the northern part of Ajmeer is best seen. That distance is about three hundred miles ; and for the last hundred, there are no inhabitants, no vegetation, and no water ; but one waste of sand, which no art of man could reclaim to any purpose of usefulness. This complete desolation extends from the country of Bahawalpoor to Poogul ; and the sand is flat, as if the very winds of the desert had abandoned it ; indeed it rather resembles clay than sand ; it is consolidated to the consistency of a brick, and ring under the foot. Such a surface is quite impervious to moisture, and must instantly discharge from its surface the whole of the rain that falls upon it : while the dew only moistens the saline encrustation, which crystallizes again the moment that the sun acts upon it. From Poogul to the frontier eastward, the general covering of the surface is still sand ; but it seems as if whirlwinds had been let loose upon it in all directions. The loose sand is moulded into conical hills, resembling those that are often met with where two adverse currents of wind and tide meet upon a sandy beach. These hills vary in height from twenty to one hundred feet, and, according to the accounts of the inhabitants (for there are human beings in

this miserable country), they are continually shifting their places. Those hills are, in fact, the armies of the desert, standing ready to advance their files, and scatter their desolating flood upon the eastern part of Ajmeer and the contiguous portion of Delhi, the moment that man remits his irrigating and watering operations; and it must be admitted that, in the century of misrule and destruction, to which allusion has been made, these inroads were most destructive. The cause of their formation we shall at least attempt to explain, when we have collected all the local facts, and come to inquire thence how the elements work in India.

Though the accommodation of the people here be both wretched and precarious, their labours are severe. Their habitations are little huts of straw, very much in the form of beehives; their little fields produce only the smallest and worst of leguminous plants, and the raising of the small millet (*holcus spicatus*), is attended with more labour than that of the richest produce of more favoured countries. The periodical rain and the dew are not adequate to the production of this scanty crop, and, therefore, the people have to perforate the earth—no easy task, where the soil is loose and



sandy to the depth of three hundred and fifty feet; and, even then, the quantity of water which they obtain, is small and bad.

But yet, in this dismal country, we meet with one of those provisions of Nature, which strike us so forcibly by their being found where we would least expect them. The chemical powers of vegetables have not been very minutely attended to: and the subject is of a very nice and delicate nature; but there is a power in some plants by which they are enabled to collect the elements of water, and combine and condense them into that fluid, without the presence of any water ready formed. We have instances of this in many of the orchidious plants of warm countries, which hang with their bulbs suspended from a dry and withered portion of a tree, and yet have their leaves and petals full of juice; and on the arid wastes of Ajmeer, the water-melon (*cucurbita citrullus*), the most juicy, cooling, and thirst-assuaging plant that grows, is found in great abundance and vigour, even where the dry millet must be moistened from the wells. It may be found, that such a plant as the water-melon, growing in a desert of sand, performs some important operation in nature, separating the hydrogen from exhalations that would be pestilent, and leaving their other component parts to fall harmless to the earth; and

combining that hydrogen with the oxygen of a portion of the air; and it is a fact that, upon deserts where such plants are found, the hot winds are not so pestilent as where there is nothing but mineral action.

This desert, which approaches close to the bank of the Chinaub below Ooch, extends southward till it merges in the great salt marsh of the Rinn, toward the confines of the Sinde, Cutch, and Gujerat, in the south-west; thus, it may be said, in a curve, concave toward the south-east, to inclose the half of the more habitable part of Ajmeer.

The south-west of Ajmeer, crosses to the south of the Mhye, which descends to the Gulf of Cambay; and the middle of the south side crosses the Chumbul; the Banass branch of the Chumbul also passes along a considerable part of the country; but still it is very destitute of rivers. The traditions which are current among the people of Ajmeer, who, from the strength of the desolation with which they are surrounded, have not been so subjected to conquest as those who dwell in the better part of India, tend to confirm the opinions advanced in the notice of Delhi, that the streams of Sirhind, which are now drank up by the desert, had once found their way to the ocean, or, probably, to an inland bay, the filling up of which by the sand

carried down by those rivers may have filled it up and produced the Rinn ; those people speak of times when their country was traversed by long rivers, flowing from the north-east to the south-west.

On the west Ajmeer is hilly, and the ridge of Aboo, near the boundary, has some peaks about two thousand feet high ; but such an elevation is uncommon in the province. In that quarter there are some beautiful little lakes, with rich valleys, and romantic hills around them, affording picturesque views ; but still there are unproductive tracts that intervene. In the eastern part of Ajmeer there are some lakes, from which a considerable quantity of salt is made, by the common Indian method of evaporating by the heat of the sun.

AGRA.—In this province we again have the course of the great rivers. Agra lies to the east of Ajmeer, whence it stretches eastward to the confines of Oude and Allahabad ; and in the direction of north to south it extends from Delhi to Malwa. There are three natural portions of the province of Agra, separated from each other by the great rivers, which have distinct characters. These are, a sort of table land, lying immediately to the east of Ajmeer, and having the Jumnah on the east, and the Chumbul on the south ; a hilly and uneven

country lying on the south of the Chumbul, and extending to the confines of Malwa; and the Doab, or flat country, between the Jumnah and the Ganges, reaching to Oude on the east.

The first, or table land division, has a range of hills on the west, in which a few small streams originate; but few of them find their way either to the Jumnah or the Chumbul, even during the rainy season; thus the table land, which is flat, and from sixty to one hundred feet above the beds of the rivers, may be regarded as a dry country, and productive only where it is artificially watered from tanks or wells. This portion of the province is very bare of trees, and most of it is uncultivated; the crops also, where crops are raised, are of the least productive kind.

The portion south of the Jumnah is better watered; but great part of it is covered by jungles, and the population is but thinly scattered.

The Doab, also, is a naked country, and too dry, and with too light a soil, in most places, for the production of rice; but, with proper cultivation, it is well adapted for cotton, indigo, and sugar. Indeed the whole province answers better for cotton and indigo than any other crop. The province of Agra holds a sort of

middle place between the arid sterility of Ajmeer, and the extreme fertility of the Gangetic plain. Like Delhi, it was ruined during the century of desolation ; and it appears to recover very slowly : some of the reasons will appear afterwards.

OUDE.—Though small, compared with some other of the Indian provinces, Oude is a very valuable and delightful country. Delhi, Agra, and the great stream of the Ganges, intervene, and protect it from any deleterious influence of the desert ; while in the hills, which separate it from Nepâl, and also the Himalaya beyond, furnish an abundance of rivers. Agra and Delhi bound Oude on the west ; the Rohilcund district of Delhi bounds it on the north-west ; the Nepâl hills stretch along the north-east ; Bahar forms the boundary on the south-east ; and Allahabad on the south. The extreme length, from near Allahabad, on the Ganges, to the north-east point, where the Gogra issues from between Nepâl and Kumaon, is not less than two hundred and fifty miles, and the extreme breadth is one hundred and fifty ; but the northern part is very narrow. The Ganges and the Gogra (called also the Sarga and the Dewa,) are the largest rivers that water Oude ; but between them there is a very beautifully-winding river, which belongs to the province,

or, at least, enters it, from the hills in the south-east of Rohilcund, only in a few detached rivulets. That river is the Goomty; and the name, which signifies "winding," is most descriptive of the course of the stream. This winding river, which traverses the whole length of the country, is, at all seasons of the year, navigable through a great part of the extent, while branches flow parallel to the main stream, and the whole plain (for Oude is one plain) is seamed with rivers.

Such a country, protected alike from burning and from chilling winds, sloping very gently to the south-east, having in general a fine bluish soil, consisting in a great measure of vegetable matter, and being every where within the reach of an unlimited supply of water, wants only cultivation—a very moderate degree of cultivation—to make it highly productive. Accordingly, when cultivated, Oude furnishes in abundance all the vegetable wealth of India: rice, wheat, barley, and all other grain, with a variety of fruits; and sugar-canes, opium (*papaver somniferum*), indigo, and all other articles of commerce that require a rich soil. The communication from this part of India to the Bay of Bengal, though long, is direct; and the only time that it is interrupted, or restricted to very small boats, is when the Ganges is very



low, and choked up by the temporary banks of sand ; and as these occur most frequently in the very winding part of the river, between its confluence with the Jumnah and that with the Goomty, they do not affect the water intercourse with Oude so much as that with Agra and Delhi.

GUJERAT.—As that province has been, in part, described in the notice given of the shores, a very few words will suffice to complete the outline of its position.

The Gujerat province consists of the peninsula, between the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay, with about as much of the country between the Nerbudda and the Rinn, as is equal to the half of that peninsula. The boundary toward the Nerbudda is the river Mhye, and Malwa lies on the opposite bank, while Ajmeer forms the boundary from the Mhye to the Rinn. The length from south-west to north-east is, therefore, about two hundred and fifty miles, and the greatest breadth about one hundred and fifty. A portion to the south of the Nerbudda has sometimes been described as included in the province of Gujerat ; but that produces a confusion, as that river is the boundary between Hindûstan Proper and the Deccan.

Though none of the hills in Gujerat are high, and though, in a detached country of so limited

dimensions, none of the rivers can be large, yet it is both a picturesque and a well watered country. Everywhere there are fine clear streams, and the scenery is often very wild and striking; it abounds with sacred places, and remains of antiquity; and is one of the poetic portions of India.

MALWA.—The province of Malwa occupies the country immediately to the north of the Nerbudda, extending eastward to the sources of that river in the table land of Omerkuntuc. Gujerat and Ajmeer are its boundaries on the west, the river Mhye forming a natural line of separation from the former, and a ridge of hills from the latter; Ajmeer and Agra lie on the north; Allahabad on the east, Gundwana on the south-east, and Berar and Candeish on the south. The Vindhaya ridge, on the right bank of the Nerbudda, form the principal elevation of the province, and the general slope of the surface is from those mountains toward the north.

Malwa stretches across the upper parts of the Chumbul, the Sind, the Betwah and their branches; and is, upon the whole, a well watered country. Though the ridge along the south of the province of Malwa be hardly anywhere more than two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and though the descent south-

ward to the Nerbudda be in general steep, the character of a great part of the country on the other side is very different. The slope is so gentle that the whole has the appearance of a table land, over which a number of romantic conical hills are scattered, and along which a number of rivers have their courses. So little is the southern part of this table land different from the summits of the Vindhaya ridge, that there is no part of that ridge elevated one hundred feet above the commencement of it. Thus, with reference to Malwa, the range is a bank rather than a ridge of mountains; and seems as if, in the lapse of many ages, the Nerbudda had worn a passage for itself from one to another of a series of lakes, until the whole have been discharged.

The gradual slope of Malwa, its proximity to the Arabian sea, and its distance from the desert, with the diversification of its surface by the small hills that have been alluded to, all serve to point it out as a district which, if the fault is not in the soil, should be fertile. The soil, too, is of the most favourable kind, being a fine black mould, formed of decomposed trap (?) and vegetable matter,—a species of soil which is, in general, as celebrated for the quality as for the quantity of its cultivated produce. From the situation, the temperature is mild; and

there are instances of the thermometer being below freezing in the month of January.

The situation is rather too elevated for a great or general production of rice, but enough is raised for the supply of the inhabitants. Wheat, the larger Indian millet, maize, and all the leguminous plants that are usual in Indian husbandry, are cultivated with much advantage—more especially wheat, and the large vetch, called *gram* in the country, both of which are exported in great quantity. So great is the variety of agricultural produce, that it is difficult to name one species which is not cultivated in Malwa. Perhaps grapes and opium are among the most celebrated. The vines of Malwa are peculiarly productive, and the opium is considered as more pure than that of the valley of the Ganges. In the opium trade, however, the nature of the country affords very great facilities for smuggling.

ALLAHABAD.—The province of Allahabad occupies the country immediately to the north-east of Malwa; and it extends about two hundred and sixty miles from east to west, and one hundred and twenty from north to south. On the west it has Malwa and Agra; on the north Agra and Oude; on the east Bahar and Gundwana; and on the south Gundwana. Allahabad consists of two separate descriptions

of country : low plains, on the Ganges and other great rivers, in the north; and an elevated table land, toward Malwa and Gundwana, in the south and south-west.

The plain is intersected by many large rivers, the Jumnah, the Ganges, the Goomty, and many smaller ones—the Ganges winding very much within the province, and thus contributing to its fertility. This part of Allahabad is one of the richest and most productive in India; but it is exceedingly hot, and subject to the pestilent winds from the desert.

The table land in the south, though far from a barren country, is not nearly so productive as the plain, and the agriculture there has to be assisted from tanks and wells. Pannah, in the south-west part of this table land, at a short distance from the right bank of the river Cane, has long been celebrated for its diamond mines, those costly gems being often found of large size, and so pure, and free from roughness or opacity on the surface, that they hardly require to be cut or polished. As is the case with all places where diamonds are to be found, the surface around Pannah is sterile, and the soil containing the diamonds is gravel. This gravelly soil is more or less tinged with iron, and it varies in depth from three to twelve feet, that which is deepest being the richest in dia-

monds. The mines are not kept open or worked during the whole year; but filled up carefully before the rains, and opened again about a month after these are over. During the dry season, they remove and carefully examine the kuckroo, or gravel; and when the search is completed, they carefully return it into the same pits from which it was taken. The production of the diamond, considering that it has always been met with in gravel, and gravel apparently of the same description, and never embedded in rock, or with its crystals adhering to the nodules of pebbles in the gravel, is a very curious matter, and quite out of the way of common geological theory. The native miners, or searchers for diamonds, at Pannah, who, according to the general practice of the country, follow the occupation from father to son, all assert, with the utmost confidence, that the production of diamonds is constantly going on. The mere assertion would not be worth anything, but they add to it a sort of proof, and as that proof is a practical one, and involves their own interests, it is the more worthy of attention. They return the kuckroo, which they have searched with the greatest care, back into the mine, in order to produce more diamonds; and they add that, after it has lain undisturbed for fifteen or sixteen years, they



open it again with precisely the same chance of success, as if they opened a portion that had never before been touched.

There is no reason why they should misrepresent the facts, because they can have no inducement to do so ; and if they did not find the fresh turning of the same gravel productive, of course they would let it alone.

This is a subject upon which it is impossible to come to any conclusion, because we know nothing of the process by which diamond is formed. We know, however, that it is pure carbon, or charcoal ; that when burnt, it combines with oxygen, and a portion of pure carbonic acid, exactly equal in weight to the diamond and oxygen consumed, is the result. This being the case, we are quite sure that, if we could take a quantity of pure carbonic acid, and abstract from it all the oxygen that it contains, the remainder would be exactly the same substance as diamond ; and as we know of no form under which carbon exists in nature, pure and unmixed with any other substance, but that of diamond, analogy would lead us to suppose that, if we could but abstract the oxygen from pure carbonic acid, the result would be diamond itself, in all its hardness and brilliancy.

Now the colouring matter that is found in all diamond gravels is an oxide of some sort

or other ; it contains oxygen, and, therefore, the metal, or metal and alkali united, that enters into this oxyd, may derive its oxygen from the decomposition of carbonic acid gas ; and by mutual attraction the atoms of pure carbon may be crystallized into diamond. This is only conjecture, however ; but those who have access to the gravel might make experiments.

At all events, though, in the time of the Emperor Acbar, the diamond mines were worked to the extent of one hundred thousand pounds sterling in value annually, they are not exhausted : for in 1820, Captain Bulkley of the Bengal establishment, mined on a small scale, and obtained diamonds to the value of two thousand rupees, with a profit of more than cent. per cent. on the expense of seeking for them.

**BAHAR.**—The province of Bahar, lies across the whole valley of the Ganges, between the table land of Omerkuntuc and the hills of Nepâl. Taking Bahar in its widest extent, it is bounded on the west by Gundwana, Allahabad, and Oude ; on the north by the Nepâl hills ; on the east by Bengal ; and on the south by Orissa and Gundwana. It is a large province, being, at least, two hundred and fifty miles long, and two hundred broad, and the Ganges winds through it, generally in an east-

erly direction, for a length of two hundred miles. Throughout the whole of Bahar the Ganges has a breadth of about a mile; and though both nature and art combine to flood great part of the surface, during the rainy season, the banks of the river are high, and there is very little of the surface in a state of continual marsh. The greater part of Bahar is a plain, and a plain of great natural fertility, and in a high state of cultivation. It has, from time immemorial, been the garden of the Valley of the Ganges; has been in general thronged with people, and in a high state of productiveness; while the soil is naturally more dry, and the climate, in consequence, more healthy, than in some other places. Every species of grain, but particularly those that are adapted to dry culture, with sugar, indigo, oil seeds, roses, and other flowers, from which the sweetest perfumes are extracted, grow upon the plain of Bahar; with every description of the fruits of the East, the mangosteen and the durion excepted.

Besides the exuberant productions of its soil, of which the opium alone would make it wealthy, Bahar exports a great deal of saltpetre or nitrate of potass. The causes that induce this valuable production in the soil of the Valley of the Ganges, have been already hinted at. Those causes are augmented in

Bahar by the quantity of lime that is mixed with the soil, as well as by the hot winds, which, during the warm season of the year, blow from the west. These winds of course promote the decomposition of the vegetable matter, which affords the potass, and of the animal matter and the atmospheric air which supply the nitrogen and the oxygen. Indeed it appears that these winds are necessary for the spontaneous production of nitre in the soil; and that, where they do not extend, it cannot be produced except in artificial beds, containing a greater quantity of animal and vegetable matter. Of course, since the desert, which is the source of those winds, crept eastward, nearer to the Jumnah, and dried up the rivers in the west of Agra and the east of Ajmeer, the winds have advanced in the same direction and ratio in their course. They are now, in consequence, felt not only more powerfully toward the east of Bahar, than they were in former times, but have reached Bengal, in which they were once unknown; and nitrate of soda has begun to be formed, and to be an article of attraction and commerce there.

There is a portion of the south-west and south of Bahar, which is not so very productive as the extensive plain to which allusion has been made. That is the portion lying to

the eastward of the Sone, and southward to the confines of Gundwana and Orissa. It was previously mentioned that, in consequence of the value of the country through which it flows, and the violence of its current when swollen, the Sone brings down, and deposits in the lower part of its channel, an immense quantity of sand. That sand is acted upon by the dry and parching west winds, which whirl it into heaps on the bank of the river; and these heaps are spreading their own sterility over a portion of the country.

Independently of that, there is, at a very considerable distance from the Ganges, a ridge of hills, nearly parallel to the general bed of that river, though about sixty miles to the southward of it. Those hills, like the hills in the south part of the Peninsula, are called the Ghauts, because there are through them Ghauts, or passages, to an upland country, that borders upon, and partially occupies, the table land of Omerkuntuc. That elevated land is, of course, not nearly so productive as the plain, and the cultivation demands the aid of tanks and wells, as is the case in the other dry parts of India. It is healthy, however, and though nothing compared to the plain, far from an unproductive country. Taking all its districts together, there are few spots on the globe, where so many

people can live on an equal extent, and have so much and so valuable spare produce.

BENGAL.—This is the best, the largest, and, from its vicinity to the sea, and being the place through which communication with the others is chiefly made, the most important province of India. The territorial boundaries of Bengal are, Bahar on the west; Nepâl, Sikkim, and Bootan, on the north; Assam and the Burmese territories on the east; the Bay of Bengal on the south; and Orissa on the south-west. The whole length from north to south is about three hundred and fifty to four hundred miles, and the average breadth not less than three hundred. It is enclosed on many parts by natural boundaries, which are nearly impassable; and would of itself constitute a large, rich, and powerful state. The whole of the north side, from Assam westward, is fenced in by a vegetable wall, of the most formidable character, and which is a far better defence, should a defence in that quarter be necessary, than the wall of China, or any other rampart thrown up by human art; and even there it has this advantage, that it is reared without labour, and contains in itself the principle of its own repair and continuance. This natural rampart consists of a belt, of moist and extremely fertile alluvial land, formed by the debris of the



northern mountains: and the humidity of those mountains, which is retained and gradually given out by the soil in perpetual springs, keeps the powers of vegetation in great and incessant action. The consequence is, a degree of productiveness of which there is hardly anywhere a similar example. Trees, of the largest dimensions, and land together with climbing plants, extend over the whole. But, with all their size and vigour, they are not able to exhaust the powers of the soil and the climate, for the very grass which springs up between them, and which is more thickly sowed than wheat on the richest field in England, emulates a forest. This formidable plant, to which the natives give the name of *augeah* grass, rises to the height of thirty feet, with a stem nearly three inches in diameter, and is hardly permeable by the impenetrable hides and heavy masses of the elephant and rhinoceros, and, therefore, a complete barrier against human beings. On the east, now that the boundary has been extended to the mountains of Cachar, approach is equally difficult, and, considering the length of coast toward the south that is in the British possession, and the nature of the country through which an enemy would have to come in that direction, it would be next to a miracle, if a hundred out of every thousand

that might be disembarked and marched overland for that purpose, could reach the plain of Bengal. On the south, the country is almost equally inaccessible. Through the jungles of the Sunderbunds no human being could penetrate, even though there were no tiger crouching in the thick foliage, and ready to spring; there is no channel for vessels but the Hoogly, and only those who are familiar with it, can conduct a vessel safely through that long and difficult navigation. The Ganges, too, separates the one half of the province from the other; and thus, come danger whence it may, it could fall upon only half the province at a time.

Bengal probably got its name from the great extent of it that is flooded during the inundations,—*beng*, in the language of the country, signifying a flooded land. The whole province is flat, and, generally speaking, fertile; and all the flooded lands produce vast crops of rice. But the greater part of the soil is a very soft alluvion, in which the rivers are continually shifting their channels; and there are many *jeels*, or deep morasses, which, in the dry and warm season, tend to render the air unwholesome. From the heat of the air, and the humidity of the surface, the climate of Bengal is moist in the extreme; and, even in the dry season, the dews fall so

heavy as to be unwholesome. The substratum of soil, in the lower part of Bengal, is sand ; but that sand is so completely cemented with the fine mud which the waters deposit, as they stagnate during the rains, that it becomes impervious ; and, though the surface be remarkably humid when the rivers are swollen, water is not met with in the soil but in small quantity, and at a great depth below the surface.

Though there are morasses, and also sandy tracts, of a considerable extent, in Bengal, the province may be regarded as extremely fertile. Grain, also plants and fruits, are extensively cultivated, although the fruits are inferior to those of many other parts of the country. The population of Bengal is very great ; and though the food of the great body of the people be small and simple, as regards the individual, and the land abundantly productive, the crops sometimes fail, and all the horrors of famine are experienced.

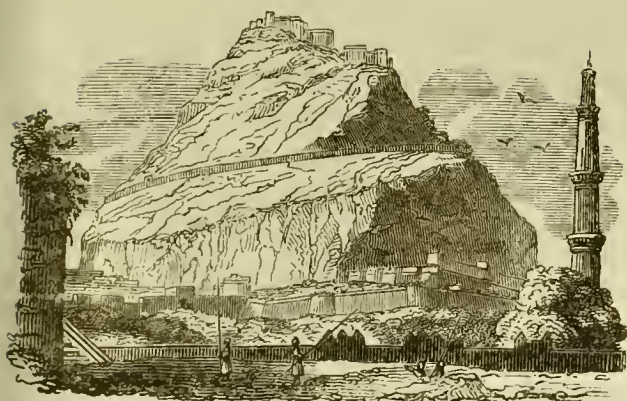
Bengal has a decided advantage over all the other provinces in the valley of the Ganges, in being upon the sea coast, and also in having a greater proportion of the seasonal rain than any of the others. It has the share that falls directly upon the surface, and also the use of that which the Ganges, the Brahmapootra, and the other rivers bring from the upper coun-

tries. So that it is more easily reached by sea, and also less exposed to contingencies, than the other provinces.

Such are the provinces of India Proper. In noticing their positions, we have studiously avoided all allusion to the towns, the people, or the manufactures, because these can be glanced at more effectively in a future chapter, when all that relates chiefly to the country is before us.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PROVINCES IN THE DECCAN.



HILL FORT OF DOWLATABAD.

THE provinces in the Deccan, between the Nerbudda and the Krishna, like those of the other parts of India, have little or no reference to the territorial division ; and thus their prin-

cipal use, in a geographical point of view, consists in dividing the description into portions, which are more easily understood, than if the whole of so large a region was to be treated of at once. The most modern division of the Deccan provinces, and therefore the one most convenient for the purpose of description, is the following:—Candeish, Gundwana, Orissa, the Northern Circars, Berar, Aurungabad, Beedar, Hyderabad, and Bejapoor.

CANDEISH.—This is the first province upon entering the Deccan on the north-west, where a small portion at the mouth of the Nerbudda separates it from Gujerat, and the rest of the course of that river from Malwa. It has Gundwana on the east, Berar on the south-east, Aurungabad on the south; and on the west it is separated from Gujerat by the Gulf of Cambay. The extent of Candeish has never been ascertained with certainty; but its length may be estimated at rather more than two hundred miles, and its breadth at rather less than one hundred.

Though Candeish was much spoiled during the wars and contests of the native princes, and though even now it has but partially recovered, the very ruins show the fertile nature of the country, which is, at the same time, very picturesque and beautiful.



Several chains of low hills intersect the country, of which the most considerable are the Santpoora range, between the Nerbudda and Tuptee, and the parallel ridge, which separates the course of the southern branches of the Tuptee from those of the Godavery. The summits of those ranges, as well as some detached summits throughout the country, are barren; and there are many parts of the slopes and valleys overrun by jungles; but still a very considerable portion of the province is fertile. Throughout great part of its extent it is traversed by fine clear rivulets and streams, which are seldom, if ever, dry; and before the ruin and desolation of the country by Holkar, in 1802 and 1803, the hills contained a great number of streams and reservoirs for the irrigation of the valleys and plains, when the water is deficient. These, however, are in ruins, as well as the villages; the latter were deserted; all were covered with wild vegetation, and the place was infested by tigers.

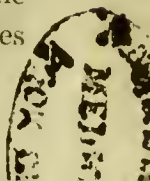
Though, in considering the general divisions of India, the whole of the western portion, south of the Nerbudda, may be considered as included in the Deccan, yet the district of Surat, on the Tuptee, is regarded as a portion of Gujerat. This portion, though a good deal neglected, is very productive of cotton, of which a great deal

is exported in the unmanufactured state. The upper country—the plain, or rather the valley of Candeish (for it chiefly consists of the countries which slope south and north to the Tuptee, and which is separated from the Surat district by a thick and extensive jungle), is also well suited for the same kind of produce. The jungles of Candeish are very unhealthy; and even those parts which are cleared are said not to be so salubrious as, from their comparatively elevated situation, one would be led to expect. The population of this part of India is very small, in proportion to the surface, compared with that of Bengal and Bahar; and the number of people to the square mile is not nearly so great as in some parts of Europe.

GUNDWANA.—That large province may be accounted one of the wildest and least known parts of India. It receives its name from the people styled the Gunds, or Gonds; but its population consists of a great number of tribes; and the Gunds chiefly inhabit the south-eastern parts. Gundwana is very large, being about five hundred miles in length, and nearly three hundred in breadth; but, as it is not very well known, and as the countries immediately bordering upon it partake a good deal of its wild, woody, and impenetrable character, its boundaries are not very accurately ascertained. Its

length, from north to south, ranges over about  $6^{\circ}$  of latitude, or from  $19^{\circ}$  to  $25^{\circ}$ . The boundaries on the west, commencing at the southern extremity are, successively, Hyderabad, Berar, Candeish, Malwa, and Allahabad; those on the north are Allahabad and Bahar; on the east there are Bahar, Bengál, and Orissa; and on the south-east and south, the Circars and Hyderabad.

This country, in the present state at least, is not of value proportionate to its extent; neither is it sufficiently known for allowing any thing like an accurate general description of it to be given. It is, altogether, an elevated country, though the elevation is nowhere very great; but it is, at the same time, uneven, consisting in some places of hard gravel, upon which there are few or no trees and but little vegetation of any kind; in other places, there are columnar heights of trap-rock, the intervals between which have a comparatively rich soil, and abound with fine timber in some places, and vast thickets of bamboos. In the upper part of this district, where most of the rivers have their sources, there are many swamps and pools, and in some few instances advantage has been taken of the latter to form artificial tanks for the watering of the land in the dry season; but the cultivated land consists of only a few patches



scattered through the wilds and forests of this extensive region. The principal rivers are the Mahanuddy and the Wyne Gunga, branches of the Godavery, between which latter, Nagpoor, the reputed capital of the province, is situated. The land in that quarter is a little better cultivated, and the people are not so completely in a state of nature as they are in the forests and jungles, which are understood to be inhabited by some tribes who held the same situation anterior to the settlement of the Hindûs in India.

ORISSA is a long and narrow province, lying on the east, or rather the south-east, of Gundwana, bordering with Bengal on the north, and the Circars, to the Chalka lake, or marsh, on the south of the river Mahanuddy, but extending, indefinitely, to the south-west, upon the mountainous tract, within the Circars, till it be confounded with the forests and wilds of the Gonds, nearly as far south as the Godavery. Bengal forms the eastern boundary. As from the Circars northward the Bay of the interior of this province is rude, and has been but little explored, the dimensions cannot be very accurately stated. Probably the length is rather more than five hundred miles, and the breadth less than one hundred. The western part of Orissa is, throughout the whole of its

length, so wild as to be almost impassable, and even impenetrable. The hills are rugged, the woods and jungles thick and impenetrable, and the water-courses rough and interrupted, and in the rainy season full of foaming torrents; while, to Europeans, the air is peculiarly pestilent. Even the few natives who, in the dry season, go from the coast to the interior, find the passage neither pleasant nor wholesome. This district, above the Ghauts, or mountain-passes of Orissa, and the Circars, forms a boundary through which no army could pass from the confines of Bahar to the banks of the Godavary; and therefore it forms a complete protection to the inland country against the coast, as well as to the coast against the inland country. Toward the north, the inland country is a little better, some valleys among the hills being cleared and cultivated, and the hills themselves containing iron mines of some value; but even there, the valuable part of the surface bears but a small proportion to the whole.

A very considerable portion of the shore of Orissa consists of salt marshes, which are flooded during the rains, but from which a very considerable quantity of salt is manufactured in the dry season. It need hardly be mentioned that this part of the province is unhealthy. This reaches inland for about twenty miles,

and then there is a hill of dry land, which produces rice and other vegetables. That is nearly of the same breadth as the swamp along the shore; and behind are the woods, which, in addition to the disadvantages already mentioned, are very much infested by leopards and other beasts of prey.

The CIRCARS occupy the remainder of the eastern shore of the Deccan to the Chalka lake southward, and, indeed, extends several miles to the south of the Krishna, where they join the Carnatic. The whole length is not much short of five hundred miles; but the breadth is inconsiderable; and there is a sandy waste almost the whole way along the shore. Within this, however, there are many valuable districts of cultivated and productive country, more especially toward the Godavery and the Elyuram, which flows from the hills parallel to the lower part of that river, at about thirty miles to the north, and which, though but a small stream, contains all the year round abundance of water for the purposes of irrigation. That part of the Circars which lies near the mouth of the Godavery and Krishna, is, indeed, not only the most fertile on the whole western shore of the Bay of Bengal, but the most fertile in the Deccan. The lower lands are remarkably well suited for the growth of the sugar-



cane, and those which are situated a little higher are equally well adapted for that of cotton. As was mentioned already, this fertile part of the coast of the Circars has a much more accessible beach, and is less exposed to the violence of the surf, than any other along the same side of the peninsula. Both the fertile country, and the approachable portion of the shore in the Circars are, however, but small in proportion to the whole.

BERAR.—This province is an elevated valley, occupying nearly the centre of the Deccan. It has Aurungabad and Candeish on the west; Candeish and Mulwa on the north; Gundwana on the east; and Beedar and Aurungabad on the south. As is the case with the other provinces in this part of India, the limits of Berar are not very well defined; and different writers give different accounts of them. The chief cause appears to have been an attempt to give the permanence of geographical division to the perpetually shifting territorial distribution,—an attempt which, during the time when the Maharattas had the command of the country especially, was nearly as vain as it would be to attempt describing a particular landscape, from the form and position of the clouds, and the distribution of the lights and shadows, on any particular day.

Berar consists of several valleys, though the

entrances to it from the surrounding countries are generally through ghauts, or passes, in ridges of hills, more or less covered with wood and jungle. Those valleys principally are, the upper part of the valley of the Tuptee in the north, that of the Pyne Gonga in the south, and half of that of the Wurda in the south-east. The valleys of Berar have, in general, a rich and fertile soil, and when allowed to run into a state of nature, produce very fine grass. The cultivated tracts are, in general, rather too much elevated for rice; but they produce very fine wheat, leguminous vegetables, and flax. Sometimes the rains fail, and the country suffers all the horrors of famine.'

AURUNGABAD.—That province occupies the west coast, and a portion of the country to the east of the Western Ghauts. It has the Surat district of the Gujerat, Candeish, and Berar on the north; Berar and Hyderabad on the east; Beedar and Bejapoor on the south; and the Arabian sea on the west. It may be estimated at about three hundred miles in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth.

The surface of this province is very elevated, the general level being not much less than two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and some of the summits are considerably more. Summits of a very singular shape often rise insulated; and were it not for their magnitude

they might almost be mistaken for works of art. One of the most remarkable of these is the fortress of Dowlatabad, about seven miles north-west of Aurungabad, the capital of the province. This fort is a mass of granite, standing more than a mile and a half from the hills, and rising to an elevation of at least five hundred feet, the lower part being a scarped and nearly perpendicular cliff, to the height of about one hundred and eighty feet, surrounded by a deep ditch, across which there is only one passage, and that admits no more than two persons abreast. The entrance to the fort itself is still more difficult. The first passage is a hole cut in the mass of the rock, which can be entered by only one person at a time, and that person must stoop. This soon leads to the first place of arms, which is a vaulted hall, excavated out of the rock, and can be illuminated only by torches. From this hall a passage winds upwards, about twelve feet in height and width, but still excavated out of the solid rock, and with a regular ascent. In the course of this passage there are several sallyports, consisting of trap-doors and narrow flights of steps, which extend down to the water in the ditch. The length of this approach is at least two hundred yards; and it terminates by an abrupt entrance into a second place of arms, hollowed

out of the rock, and about twenty feet square. This place of arms is protected by a peculiar defence—a great plate of iron, which covers the entrance, and upon which, in cases of emergency, a fire might be lighted, and which, as the plate is perforated and the draught of air the whole length of the passage below, would very soon become heated to redness. This place of arms is near the top of the scarped face of the rock, from which the ascent is still rugged; and the rock in many parts covered with bushes, and containing reservoirs of water,—so that, if properly defended, and very few troops would be necessary for that purpose, the fort of Dowlatabad could be won only by the actual starvation of those upon it; but it has this disadvantage, that very few could invest it, and the garrison could not, from the intricacy of the outlet, make an effective sally. There is one large gun upon this fort, a brass twenty-four pounder, at the summit, where the flag of the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose property in the meantime it is, is displayed. There are few other cannon upon it; and, indeed, artillery, would not be very effective in such a place, the strength being in the rock itself.

Though the surface of the province of Dowlatabad, be elevated and irregular, it is fertile, and the scenery is often very beautiful. The

banks of the rivers are very productive of rice; and the slopes yield the other productions of India. European fruits thrive uncommonly well in the gardens. Strawberries and peaches are of the finest quality, and so are grapes, of which a large sort is extensively cultivated. Melons abound every where; and they are equal in flavour to the very best that can be raised by artificial heat in England. The country is, however, but thinly peopled, and any city or building that can be designated as splendid, is in ruins.

**BEEDAR.**—This province lies on the south-east of that of Aurungabad. It is about one hundred and forty miles in length, and seventy in breadth. Its boundaries are Bejapoor and Aurungabad on the west; Aurungabad and Berar on the north; Gundwana and Hyderabad on the east; and Hyderabad on the south. The rivers in this province are much larger than those in Aurungabad; but none of them are navigable; the Godavery and its branch, the Manjera, the latter of which winds a great deal, are the principal ones. It is represented as being a very fertile country; but the recent state of it is not much known. Since the year 1717, it has belonged entirely to the Nizam of Hyderabad, though until lately subject to a heavy tribute to the Maharattas; and as the

Nizam has generally been the ally of the British, ever since they acquired an influence in the Deccan, a British army, the usual means of geographical discovery in India, has not swept over the valleys of Beedar.

HYDERABAD.—Hyderabad occupies a table land of considerable elevation, between the Godavery and Krishna, to both of which rivers it extends. It has Aurungabad and Beedar on the west, and Gundwana on the east. The most remarkable natural feature of Hyderabad is the want of rivers, except those that have been mentioned as forming the boundaries, and they are too rocky and interrupted for being of any use in navigation. Those that rise in the province are seasonal torrents rather than rivers, as, unless when they are swollen by the seasonal rains, the water bears a very small proportion to the channel. The soil is, however, said to be fertile, though much of it be in a state of neglect and ruin; and the proofs of its former population and productiveness are found in the remains of villages and tanks, now hid in extensive jungles. The climate is temperate,—and for India, even cold, as, during three months of the winter, the thermometer often descends to within a few degrees of the freezing point. Such a temperature, and the general elevation of the country, with the want of flooding, dis-



qualify it for the production of rice ; but the wheat is excellent, and, with proper cultivation, might be abundant ; and European fruits might be produced with much advantage. The most dreary district of the country is that which stretches from the city of Hyderabad southward to the Krishna ; and yet it is there that the vestiges of a former population are the most numerous.

The Golconda district of the table land of Hyderabad has been much famed in Europe by poets, and also those writers who rear the fabric of their prose upon poetical foundations, as the place above all others where diamonds are found. But it so happens, that there is not a single diamond mine in the table land of the province of Hyderabad, nor is it likely that there ever was one found in the whole country between the Godavery and the Krishna, unless somebody had previously lost it there. The rocks in that part of India are granite or sienite, which never contain any diamonds. But the strong fort of Golconda was once the principal depository and mart of diamonds in southern India ; though it had no more claim to their production, than the small island of Macao, in the Canton river, has to the production of all the teas that are shipped there for England.

BEJAPPOOR.—This is a large province, occupying the south-west of the Deccan, and extending from the shore of the Arabian sea, eastward, to nearly the centre of the peninsula. Its boundaries are for the most part natural, and therefore more defined than those of the other provinces in the Deccan. The Beemah separates it from Aurungabad and Hyderabad, on the north and north-east, for almost its whole length, from the Western Ghauts whence it issues to its junction with the Krishna. While the Toombudra branch of the Krishna, and its western branch the Wurda, form as definite a boundary along the whole of the south-east side, to the summit of the Ghauts. On the small portion between the summits of the Ghauts and the Arabian sea, it is bounded by the coast district of Canara, while its north boundary on the coast is Concan.

The western part of Bejapoor is remarkably hilly; and abounds with insulated rock forts (called *droogs* in the south of India) similar to that at Dowlatabad. They are in general, however, more flat on the top, with the sides perpendicular for above one hundred feet; and in many cases, little art has been requisite in giving them that form. Those insulated rocks are common along the whole of the west coast of India from Ajmeer southward, and form

one of its chief natural features ; but they are more numerous in Bejapoor than in any other province.

The Krishna is the chief river in Bejapoor, and the province naturally consists of the valley of that river, and one side of each of those of the Beemah and Toombudra. The greater part of the land is, however, high ; the rivers are not navigable ; and though the black soil upon the flats near the rivers be very fertile, these form but a small portion of the whole surface. Like Aurungabad, this province is subject to occasional famines and epidemic diseases, and indeed the whole line of high country to the eastward of the Western Ghauts is much less healthy than, from its elevation and its vicinity to the sea, one would be apt to suppose. There is a reason, however, which will appear, without much labour of detail, when we come to consider the causes that affect the climate and seasons in India.

#### PROVINCES SOUTH OF THE KRISHNA.

As the Krishna, with its branches, the Toombudra and the Wurda, form a complete line, reaching from the eastern sea to nearly the shore of the western, they form a very clear, and therefore, convenient division between the Deccan

and the south of India. The line is, however, taken along the Krishna direct, and thus the division includes the southern part of the province of Bejapoor, which, indeed, partakes much of the character of the country farther to the south, though separated from it by the courses of the Toombudra and Wurda

The length of this part of India along the west coast, which is its largest side, is about six hundred miles, and the greatest breadth is more than five hundred. Its most striking character is the great difference of elevation between the coasts and the interior, and the wild and rapid transition from the one to the other. The surface of the table land, or Balaghaut, is diversified with hills, valleys, and plains; but the greater part of it is about one mile above the level of the sea, and hardly any part of it has a less elevation than three thousand feet. The shores on the other hand are low; and from the quantity of shells, and shell lime, contained on the east-coast, one would be led to conclude that that had been formed by the joint action of the sea and the seasonal rains bringing down the debris of the high land. The divisions, exclusive of the south part of Bejapoor, or the district between the Krishna and Toombudra, are the Carnatic, below the Ghauts on the eastern or Coromandel coast, and extend-

ing the whole way from the south frontier of the Circars to Cape Comorin; the principalities of Travancore and Cochin, and the districts of Malabar and Canara, below the Ghauts, or rather occupying the slopes of the Ghauts toward the west, toward the Indian Ocean; and the Balaghaut and Mysore occupying the table land.

CARNATIC.—That province has obtained the name of the antient Hindû Kingdom on the table land, of which, however, it never formed a part. From the bank of the small river Gundigama, in the north, by which it is separated from the Circars, to Cape Comorin in the south, it has an extent of about five hundred and fifty miles; but the breadth is small in proportion. It varies much, but is, upon the average, not more than ninety miles.

The vast extent in latitude of the Carnatic, as compared with its breadth, requires a subdivision, independently of the names of the states, which are of very little consequence while the British power continues to predominate over the whole region. Those divisions are northern, central, and southern Carnatic.

The northern division extends from the Gundegama to the Pennar, and is by much the smallest of the three, not having above sixty miles of sea-coast. The central extends from

the mouth of the Pennar to that of the Coleroon, or northern branch of the Cavery, and has more than two hundred miles of sea-coast; and the southern extends from the Coleroon to Cape Comorin. The northern part of the Carnatic is the narrowest, and also that in which the mountains are most nearly in a straight line parallel to the coast; but the low and high lands have every where a definite boundary.

The position of the Carnatic is thus peculiar, being low and narrow, and having the sea on the one hand, and an abrupt ridge of mountains on the other. The atmosphere is, therefore, in a great degree, confined to itself; and both from that and from the nature of the soil, it is exceedingly hot. It has been already mentioned, that the soil of this district is a mixture of debris from the land and marine remains. The debris is not, however, like that which is met with in the valleys of rivers, for the country is not a river formation, if we except, perhaps, a portion adjoining the Cavery. All the rivers rise in the mountains; the larger ones have the principal part of their courses there, and they merely cross the Carnatic to the sea; and instead of receiving any addition in the country, they are diminished by evaporation as they run. In the rainy season, indeed, they do receive water there; but



it is a deluging flood, which washes the more valuable part of the soil into the rivers, and thence into the sea, where the reaction of the tide mingles it, with the sand, upon the beach. The only thing from which a debris can be formed in the Carnatic is, therefore, the rock itself. That rock is a sienite, containing less than the ordinary proportion of feldspar, and, therefore more oxide of iron, and less potass. The ruins of rocks and hills, of this species of stone, are found in every stage of disintegration and decomposition, from fragments that can be crumbled into pieces, indefinitely small, by the hand, to ordinary sand. In the more favoured places, this is mixed with a little decayed vegetable matter, and forms a sort of loam; and in those that are less so, it is mere sand.

A soil of this kind cannot retain humidity, and, therefore, there are no springs in the low country of the Carnatic, nor till an elevation be reached, where the undecomposed rock is high enough above the surface for discharging the water that sinks into the porous soil. Water may be obtained by digging; but unless the depth be considerable, it is small in quantity, and impregnated with salt. Salt abounds, indeed, in all the part that lies near to the sea; and when the surface dries, after the rains, it is covered with a saline efflorescence. This

impregnation extends as far as the shells and other marine remains are found, and marks the tract which may have once been covered with the sea. Within this, the soil is not so saline; but it is almost equally sterile,—the chief difference being that it is more favourable to the growth of trees.

Thus the only element of fertility naturally found in the Carnatic is heat, and that, in the absence of the others, produces an opposite effect.

Still, from the rivers, with which it in all places abounds, the Carnatic must have been a populous country for a long period; although those rivers chronicle upon their crumbling parts, the effect of the same causes by which the mountains have been disintegrated. But the vicinity of the Ghauts has its use even here: the rivers all descend from those mountains with considerable rapidity; or they may be reached at such an elevation as that the water can be conveyed by canals over the neighbouring districts. Large tanks are also formed by building dams across the hollows; and where such hollows are not convenient, tanks, lined with masonry, are constructed. By the aid of these all the hollows are brought into culture; and that which, left to itself, would be a desert, or produce only hard, prickly, and saline plants,

of no value, is made to yield crops. The lowest lands, which are near the great rivers, and can have an unlimited supply of water, are planted with rice; the smaller species of grain are sown in the drier soils; and those that are more arid still, are planted with the dwarf cotton tree.

The chief rivers that belong to the Carnatic, that is, which rise in the mountains on that side, and have not any part of their courses over the plains of the table land, are the Palaur, which falls into the sea, about forty-five miles to the south of Madras; the Punair, further to the south, which enters the sea near Pondicherry; and the Vaygaroo, which enters the strait between the south-east coast and the island of Ceylon. The former two have courses about two hundred miles long; and contain much water during the rains: but are nearly dry before these commence: the latter is so taken up for the purposes of irrigation, that hardly any portion of its waters reach the sea, except in seasons when the floods are unusually great. To those who live in climates which water their fields for them, and who are not always sensible of the labour that they are thereby spared, the number of tanks and water-courses that are required in the Carnatic, would appear almost incredible. In the district of

North Arcot alone, and it (the low country between the Pennar and the Palaur) is not a large one, there were, in 1810, about four thousand tanks, and more than twenty thousand artificial water courses.

Though the coast continues sandy and sterile, along the whole distance to Cape Comorin; and though, in the Tinnavelly district, immediately to the east of the Cape, there be a succession of sand hills along the shores, with very offensive salt marshes behind them, some parts of the Tinnavelly district are fertile. In the southwestern part of that district, the high land is reduced to a single ridge of mountains, of which the descent to the plain is much more gradual than in the Central Carnatic about Madras.

The country on the east side of the mountains toward Cape Comorin, is peculiar both in its climate and its scenery. The former is mild, and, to Europeans, exceedingly agreeable; and the latter is highly picturesque and beautiful. Two fine little rivers, the Tamharapurni and the Sylaur, rise in elevated valleys among the mountains, at the heads of which, there are narrow passes into the adjoining district of Travancore. The elevated valley through which the Sylaur runs, is twenty miles long, and it has sometimes been styled “the happy valley of Courtallum.” The tem-

perature is, at all seasons, ten degrees lower than toward the sea ; and as there are none of those arid vapours, which, as they decompose sienite and corrode marble, cannot be very wholesome for human beings, that are found along the coast. From its action on metals, there is little doubt that the air over those salt sands and marshes contains a good deal of muriatic acid gas, more especially during the excessive drought, and from that the mountain valleys are free. Even during the rains, there is not that powerful sensation of damp which is found on the coast ; and, indeed, the action of a verdant surface differs far less in rain and dry weather than that of naked sand, more especially one of sand impregnated with saline matters, where many causes combine to decompose the water, and otherwise alter the temperature.

The ordinary productions of this district of the Carnatic are rice and cotton ; but cinnamon, nutmeg, and coffee, have also been introduced, and appear to answer very well ; though they are not, perhaps, quite equal to the produce of those places where the plants are native.

TRAVANCORE.—The instant that Cape Comorin is doubled toward the west, the appearance of the coast and the country undergoes a remarkable change for the better There is

no more a long dull line of beach, with the eternal roll and roar of its surf; no more a soil of rotting rocks and saline impregnations; no more an atmosphere caustic with muriatic gas; no more the beds of the rivers appearing like the highways of England during a hot and dry summer; no more plains of thirsty sand, and mountains formed of naked and crumbling rock; all is fresh, and green, and smiling, and fragrant. The mountains are crowned with forests, producing spices and aromatic gums. The woods in the hollows abound with elephants, tigers, and buffaloes; and they swarm with apes and monkeys, many of which congregate in herds made up of smaller divisions. The open part of the country is finely diversified with hill and dale; and water is so abundant at all seasons, that there is no need of tanks and artificial courses.

Travancore is the southmost portion of this delightful country, and probably among the best parts of it; and there are few districts, of the same extent, that have so many natural advantages combined. It is, however, a very small country, being only about one hundred and forty miles in length, and forty on an average from the mountains to the sea. The dry and wet cultivation are pursued with equal advantage upon the soils that are adapted to them.

COCHIN.—The name of this district, which,



like Cutch, signifies *a morass*, is derived from the nature of the coast, the greater part of which, is occupied by small islands, sand-banks, lagoons, and salt marshes. But the country within these is fertile, and, in all its peculiarities and productions, very much resembles Travancore.

MALABAR.—In the British province of Malabar, the character of the country changes a little; and narrow as the district is, from the summit of the Ghauts to the sea, there are three distinct kinds of soil—the coast, the hills, and the slope of the Ghauts.

The coast, which extends, in all, about two hundred miles from south to north, consists of a sandy and barren margin, very much broken by lagoons and inlets of the sea, but having in general a width of about three miles. In most places this sandy soil rises into hillocks or downs; and the inner ones are remarkably productive in cocoa palms.

The second district consists of low hills, of which the tops are in general flat, the sides rather steep, and the valleys by which they are separated are deep and narrow. Small streams, of which the courses are in general very short, run through these deep valleys, from the Ghauts. At some places these fall into the inlets; but the course of others is

interrupted by the sandy shores, and, during the rain, they are thus dammed up, and flood all the lower parts of the valleys. The bottoms of the valleys, among those low hills, are remarkably fertile, and so are some of the slopes, which are cultivated in terraces, after the Chinese method. Rice is the principal produce of the low and flooded lands, and two or sometimes three crops are obtained in the year; but the crops are not nearly so heavy as in many parts of India, as the soil though sharp, and fertile, contains too much sand for being strong or rich. On the drier parts pepper is cultivated to a great extent; and though the productions be very varied, rice, cocoa-nuts, and pepper, may be considered as the prevailing ones.

The slopes of the Ghauts are of a bolder character; and are chiefly valuable for their forests,—the teak of Malabar being of peculiar excellence.

CANARA lies to the north of Malabar, and is the last division of the west coast of India, south of the Krishna. It is bounded on the north, toward the sea, by the small decayed Portuguese settlement of Goa, and beyond that by the province of Bejapoor. The mountains and Malabar form its other land boundaries; and the sea washes its shore for about one

hundred and eighty miles. The surface of Canara is much more rugged and uneven than that of Malabar, and, consequently, the quantity under cultivation and the produce are much smaller, in proportion to the whole extent of the country. The articles produced are, however, nearly the same. The surface is so very uneven, and so many new ravines and gullies are formed by the rains of every season, that intercourse, and especially the carriage of any weighty article, is very difficult; and on that account, Canara can never become a country where the labours of an abundant population can find an adequate reward.—Such are the outlines of the countries that lie between the table land of Southern India and the adjoining seas; let us now glance at those by which the table land itself is occupied.

**BALAGHAUT.**—Though that name be descriptive of the whole country above the passes of the mountains, it is generally applied only to that which occupies the northern portion. This portion extends across the whole country, from the eastern to the western Ghauts, having the Krishna and the Toombudra on the north, and the Mysore country on the south.

The southern boundaries of this part of India are so irregular, that it is not easy either to state its form or find its dimensions; but it

is at least equal to a rectangle, two hundred miles long and one hundred broad. The general slope is toward the north, though there are mountains on some parts of that frontier, toward the bank of the Toombudra. The southern part consists of a series of valleys, opening to the north, and containing the branches of the Pennar and Toombudra. These valleys, of which there are five or six in the southern part of the country, are there parallel to each other, and divided by low ranges of hills, which are generally destitute of woods, and present vast dull masses of bare rock, and these give the country an appearance of sterility at first sight, which it does not in reality merit. About the centre of the country, where the Pennar turns toward the east, there is a plain of very considerable extent, reaching from that river to the Toombudra, where they are more than sixty miles asunder.

The soil of the Balaghaut country is in general fertile, especially upon the rich black loam, the first ploughing of which is a very serious matter; but, with proper care, it requires no more of the plough for at least twenty years.

From the greater elevation and the different nature of the soil, this country does not require nearly so much water as the sandy plain of the

Carnatic, a day or two, in the proper season, being sufficient for insuring a crop. But even that little is not always obtained: for the Ghauts are between it and the sea both ways, and thus both monsoons bring dry weather, and the crop is lost. There is a good deal of watering too; and when it came into the hands of the British, the number of wells for that purpose was upwards of fifty thousand. There are some strong *droogs*, or rock forts, in the Balaghaut country, the chief of which is Gooty-droog, near the river Pennar.

MYSORE.—This country occupies the remainder of the table land of India south of the Krishna; being the central and most elevated part, and the southern slope, and extending to the western Ghauts throughout its whole length, and to the eastern, from the parallel of Madras southward. The most elevated part of the plain is about the same parallel, which is nearly also that of the town and fort of Bangalore; and there the level is about three thousand feet above that of the sea, while Sivagunga, the highest mountain in the country, rises only to the height of one thousand six hundred feet more, or four thousand six hundred above the level of the sea. The elevations by which the table land of the Mysore is broken, do not, indeed, always merit the name of mountains,

for they are often large masses of sienite, or granite, rounded in their outlines, and standing, naked and detached, or in clusters together, upon the plain. From this highest elevation, which stretches across the country from east to west, the greater part of the rivers of the Mysore have their origin. These are the principal branches of the Toombudra, the Pennar, the Punair, and the Cavery; but, with the exception of the Cavery, none of them acquire any considerable magnitude before leaving the country. The Cavery receives a number of small tributaries from the western Ghauts on the south-west frontier, and issues from the Mysore with nearly the whole volume of its water.

In a country so much elevated as the Mysore, a temperate climate might be expected, near as it is to the equator; and there are some circumstances that give it a different character from the central parts of India, where the distance from sea to sea is greater. The mountainous confines are sufficient to break the violence of the seasonal rains, though a portion of each reaches into the centre of the country; and therefore, it is neither deluged nor destitute of water. Deficiency is the imperfection, however, and therefore recourse is had to wells and tanks, though these are not so very numerous as in other



parts of India. The soil is, in many places, impregnated with salts of soda, both the muriate and the carbonate; and on that account the water which is drawn from the wells is not so pure, or so much esteemed, as the rain-water that is collected in wells.

Much of the Mysore is overrun by jungles; and, as is the case in so many parts of India, there are evidences of more numerous population, and more extended industry, at some former period, than the country now exhibits. The causes of the change for the worst are to be found in those desolating wars to which the country was exposed during the latter half of the last century, and not so much to any failure of the crops, or epidemic disease; for the seasons are not so uncertain in the Mysore as in some of the other elevated parts of peninsular India, and the climate is comparatively healthy.

The Mysore remained in a state of tranquillity after the greater part of the north of India had been subjected to invasion and conquest; and it was not till the time of the Mahrattas, and of Hyder Ali, and his son Tippoo, that it was wasted. This accounts for the hedges and other vestiges of industry being more recent and less decayed than those in places toward the north, and also for the greater purity

of the Hindû manners. The Mahomedans had not been very long in the country when Tippoo fell; and as they looked upon him as a martyr that had fallen in the sacred cause of religion, they left the country when the English took possession, and restored, as their dependent, the representative of the ancient Hindû rajah.

There are many rock forts in the Mysore, the most remarkable of which, and, indeed, one of the most remarkable in India, is Severndroog, twenty miles to the north-west of Bangalore. It is a vast mass of granite, having a base of about eight miles in circumference, and a height of about half a mile. Around the base there are smaller rocks thickly covered with jungle; but upon the sides of the great rock there are only two shrubs.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## MINERALOGY, SOIL, AND MINERALS.

IT would not be consistent either with the nature or the limits of this little work to enter into a detailed account of the structure of India, neither are the materials for such an inquiry very complete; but still some general hints are necessary, in order to arrive at a fair and legitimate estimate of the country, as the scene of human industry; because, though temperature and humidity are the grand elements in the agricultural value of a country, the rock is of importance, as it enters into, and in so far modifies, the soil of every country, and especially a country where the decomposing

powers of the atmosphere are peculiarly active. On the value of mineralogy, with reference to the arts, it is unnecessary to say anything; as an Englishman has only to look around him to be convinced that the mines of his country are one of the chief sources of her wealth, and have been the grand stimulus to her industry, and the grand cause of her greatness and her power.

It is true that the mineralogy of India does not bear so high a relation to the produce of the soil; but still it is of some importance: and it is also of some importance to correct the vulgar opinion, that India is a country rich in the precious metals, because that will narrow the subject, and enable us the better to see in what the value and wealth of India really consists.

Generally speaking, India may be considered as what geologists style a primitive country, the rocks being generally granite or sienite, and the sand the decomposition of those rocks. In the Ghauts, and the table land, this is the prevailing rock, and almost the only rock south of the summit part of the Mysore. It is small in the grain, though the component crystals are sharp and angular. Quartz is more than usually abundant in it; and both that and the felspar are very white. Those rocks are, in many places, stratified; and in the Ghauts, on

the west of Coimbatour, immediately to the south-west of Mysore, the strata are nearly perpendicular, and cleft by deep fissures. The evidence is scanty, however, and the general stratification of the rock on the southern table land is not very clearly established. In the centre of the district the rock passes into granitic porphyry, the structure of which is much more angular than that of the granite and sienite; and it is on these porphyretic points that the *droogs*, or strong forts, are mostly situated. The decomposition of this porphyry is in a state of much more minute division than that of the more granular rock, and that, in some measure, accounts for the greater tenacity of the soil.

Lime is found in the bed of the Palaur, near Arcot; and, in some places of the neighbourhood, it is in general found in nodules, and is of a very compact texture.

The whole of this part of India is very much impregnated with iron; and there are several native manufactories, both of iron and steel, in the Mysore. The general kind of ore used is not mentioned; but it is said to yield forty-seven per cent. of impure malleable iron. The torrents of the eastern Ghauts carry down great quantities of black sand, which contains a good deal of iron, and is used at the furnaces. The

ferruginous strata also extend to the Malabar coast, where there are many furnaces. It does not appear that any other metal has been found in this part of India.

The descriptions given of the soil in this district would lead us to conclude, that some strata had once, partially at least, been incumbent upon the granite and sienite, but which is now decomposed. The red soil would indicate the former presence of some species of sandstone, and also limestone; and the black soil would lead to the conclusion that there had once been a portion of trap formation, such as clay-stone or green-stone porphyry. The black sand, containing the iron, is another indication of something of this description; and it is by no means improbable that a rock of this kind reposes on the primitive formations once extended from the part of Gundwana. There are said still to be wild angular rocks of it along the high grounds, in which all the branches of the Godavery and the Krishna have their sources; and this is rendered the more probable by the fact that agates and cornelians, which are mostly found in the trap formations, are found in the bed of the Krishna; and, also, though, it is said, more sparingly, in that of the Godavery.

In the Balaghaut district, the formation is a



little different from that of the Mysore; and upon both banks of the Pennar, near Cud-dapah, there are diamond mines. These are found in the alluvial soil of the Nalla Malla ridge, which stretches across the beds of the Pennar and the Krishna; but there is no evidence of any being obtained in that ridge to the north of the latter river. These are always found in a sand-stone gravel, or in a breccia, of which sand-stone is the chief ingredient; and there are other evidences of a less compact formation in that ridge than in the table land of the Balaghaut to the westward. The springs are so numerous that, though the heat be very great, the whole of the streams are perennial.

The black soil is found more or less in all the upper valleys, toward the hills as far as the great Gangetic plain; and the *débris* found in the Mahanuddy would lead to the conclusion, that both the trap and the sand-stone formation are to be met with in the central and rocky parts of Gundwana. Diamonds, and also opaque or semi-transparent stones, are found in the bed of that river, and iron is worked in the adjoining hills. Before the cruelties of the Mahrattas, by which the Deccan was, to a great extent, depopulated, and the few people that were left driven into the fastnesses of the

woods, a considerable trade in diamonds and gold-dust was carried on by the inhabitants of Sumbhulpoor, on the Mahanuddy. The gold-dust was found by levigating the sand of the mountain torrents, and the diamonds are now found only in the same manner; but, though they are not now known, or, at any rate, not worked, the general opinion is, that there once were regular mines in this part of the Deccan, as productive as those of Pannah, in Allahabad. As is the case there, and, indeed, in every place where diamonds have been found, the soil containing them has been gravel. It may farther be noticed, that those diamond soils are uniformly sterile, composed of sand-stone and clay-stone of the least productive character; and that they form naked patches amid the exuberant vegetation both of India and Brazil. This table-land is, however, very little known; and almost the whole of our information respecting it, depends upon the Hindû pilgrims, who visit, as a place of sanctity, the sources of the rivers there. From what is known, one would be led to conclude, that both sand-stone and the trap formation are more frequent here than to the south of the Nerbudda. In point of extreme difficulty of access, unhealthiness, and beasts of prey, this is the most wretched part of India; but it is probably the one where

mineralogical research would meet with the most ample reward.

Toward the north and west, the hills are more detached and irregular; and there is said to be a good deal of whinstone and marble; but throughout the whole country, to the south of the great Gangetic plain, granite and granitic porphyry are the prevailing rocks; and it is not impossible that that which has been described as a trap formation may be porphyry, the columnar form of which often very much resembles that of the trap formations.

Farther to the north, even after the country has become in a great measure a desert, there are hills of the granite formation. Of this character are the mountains of Aboo, in Ajmeer, which rise quite insulated over the plain.

The great plain of the Ganges, the banks of the Indus, and the country between, exhibit one of the greatest masses of alluvial matter anywhere to be met with. In the delta of the Ganges, and to the distance of four hundred miles from the sea, there is not a single rock, or even a nodule of gravel; the substratum is everywhere clay, over which there lies, in most places, a very thick bed of black and fertile mould. At a little distance from the river, the substratum is sometimes lime, and sometimes

rock ; but no rock appears on the banks or in the bed of the Ganges, lower down than Oudewalla in the province of Bahar, where a spur from the high land to the west of Bengal, comes down to the river. Above this, the valley of the Ganges continues to possess its rich and fertile mould ; but the valley is more gravelly toward the Jumnah, and beyond that river it passes into desert, the upper part of which appears to be indurated clay, and the lower, sand, much impregnated with saline matters.

Of the structure of the great ridge of the Himalaya, and the belt of hilly country that lies between that and the plain of the Ganges, not a great deal is known ; but they do not appear to be so exclusively granitic as the mountains in the Deccan and south of India ; and resemble more in their general structure, the mountains of Europe. The elevations immediately on the verge of the low land, are, in a great measure, composed of gravel, as if they had been acted upon by a flood far mightier than the Ganges. Those hills always contain pebbles rounded as by the action of water, and sometimes the matter with which they are united is clay, very much indurated. Any rock which does occur in those lower hills

is sand-stone. This description of country does not, in general, rise to a height of more than fifteen hundred feet.

This first elevation, which, however it has been formed, must be considered as an alluvion, is succeeded by a very rugged tract, the ridges of which are often very narrow, and some of them attain the height of five thousand feet. This is succeeded by a lime-stone formation, the particular characters of which have not been much examined, but some parts of which rise to the height of at least seven thousand feet. Above this, nearly as far as has been explored, the rocks are schistus; but it is supposed that the more elevated summits are granite or porphyry.

Very little is known respecting the minerals in those mountains. The copper mines of Thibet have been already mentioned, as well as the gold which is found in small quantities in the sand of some of the rivers. It does not appear that any trace of silver has been met with in the Himalaya, or in any part of India; but a more important mineral is the rock-salt, which, though it does not cross the bed of the Ganges, at least at the surface, probably traverses the whole length of the country, as appears from the salt springs on the Himalaya side of the Ganges.

Animal and vegetable remains do not appear to be numerous, either in the rock or the soil of India. In the latter we would not be led to expect them, for the decomposing power of the soil is such, that any organized body is dissolved before it be even covered; and then, the soil itself everywhere contains very active principles. Taking the whole productions, animal and vegetable, their production and decomposition belong to the same class of phenomena; and great activity in the one is accompanied with corresponding activity in the other. We have mentioned, that in the soil of the Carnatic, near Madras, there are shells. The same soil contains numbers of petrified trees. Those near Madras are vulgarly said to be tamarind trees; they have attained a hardness equal to coral, receive a fine polish, and are manufactured into trinkets. Farther to the south, and near the banks of the Vaygaroo, petrifications, still understood to be those of the tamarind tree, are very numerous. One of these is described as being sixty feet long, and eight feet in diameter where thickest. The root of it is so hard as to strike fire with steel; it has nearly the same appearance as chalcedony, takes a similar polish, and is made into the same kind of trinkets. The existence of these trees in a country where marble and granite soon decay at the surface,



is rather a curious matter, and would lead to a belief that a portion, at least, of the sandy country below the Eastern Ghauts, has been formed by a process more violent and summary than the annual deposit by the floods. The natives ascribe a very remote antiquity to those trees; but they are no guides at all in matters of philosophical inquiry, and but very blind and doubtful ones on points of history.

There is one fossil production to which great importance is attached by the natives,—the Salgram stones of the Gunduck,—as each of these is a god ready made. This need not be wondered at in a country where a human being costs less than a donkey, and a divinity still less than a human being. So prone is the Hindû to be devout, that he pays his devotion to anything—a stone or block of wood on which a little red paint is smeared, a potsherd which has been dipt in the Ganges, or the droppings of a cow by the way side, is both a temple and an idol to the all-adoring Hindû. We need not therefore wonder at his adoration of the Salgram stone. In the cliffs of the coast of Durham, or the isle of Sheppy, where the lime and sulphate of iron formation is met with in this country, the Hindûs would find constant subjects of worship, for the *Ammonites* there seem to be nearly the same as those of the Salgram stones.

The ammonites are, as everybody knows, fossil shells, flat, and of a spiral form, marked by indented rings on the outside, at which there are internal *septa*, that nearly meet at the centre, and thus divide the cavity into a number of cells or chambers. A Salgram stone, containing one of these, or the impression of it, is sacred, and some of them are valued at two hundred pounds. A marine origin is generally attributed to those shells, though none of them have been met with in the living, or, indeed, in any other than a fossil state. From their structure, we are led to suppose that they have been inhabitants of very deep water, and have had the power of rising to the surface by filling with air all the cells but the last formed one. In analogous shells, the animal inhabits only the last formed chamber of the shell; but it has a membranous tube that passes through the central opening on all the partitions, and it is supposed to give buoyancy to itself, by inflating that tube with the necessary quantity of air. The cells on these impressions is called the wheel, or *chacras*, of the Salgram; and those stones in which it does not appear till a portion has been rubbed off, are accounted of the highest value. The Salgrams are imbedded in a schistous rock, of which the chief ingredients are clay and iron, with sometimes a little gold.

The place whence they come is on the borders of Thibet, to the north-east of the great summit of Dhawalaghiri, and close by the limit of perpetual snow, which, in that part of the world, is at least seventeen thousand feet above the level of the sea, which is more than four thousand feet above the level at which fossil shells were found by Humboldt, at Micuipampa, in Peru, and probably the greatest elevation at which the remains of marine animals are found on the globe. The Gunduck, like the Jumnah, is said to issue from hot springs, occasioned, like these by the decomposition of pyrites; and independently of the Salgrams, it is a place of peculiar sanctity. The bed from which the petrifications are worked is a precipice, into which the river cuts, near Muktanath, in a very cold and wild part of the country, and they are found scattered all over its bed from thence through Nepâl, to the valley of the Ganges.

This fossil has attracted the attention, and engaged the superstition, of people in many countries. The horns of Jupiter Ammon, the volutes of the Ionic capital, the thousands of snakes, large and small, which pious persons of old converted into stone in the north of England, all have had their origin nearly the same; and it is certainly not a little singular, that a

shell so generally diffused, capable of attaining such a size, and found in places so elevated, should not now be met with in the ocean; and also that at the highest locality at which it is found, the loftiest mountain should be between it and the sea.

Even the Indian fable, that gives sanctity to the Salgram (absurd as the fables of Hindû mythology generally are), is worthy of notice.

The three principal manifestations of Brahm, the Eternal and Unseen, are Brahma the creator, Vishnû the preserver, and Siva the destroyer. One of the labours of Vishnû was the creation of nine planets, the destinies of the human race, and of all else, with the exception of Brahm himself. When Sani, or Saturn, began his sway, by intimating that Brahma must submit to him for twelve years, Brahma did not much relish the proposal; and hinted to Sani, that he would gain more glory by showing the extent of his influence upon his maker Vishnû. Sani took the hint, called upon the preserver, and intimated his intention. "Call to-morrow," said Vishnû, and Sani withdrew. The moment that he was gone, Vishnû, finding that all his powers as preserver would not preserve him from the baleful influence of Sani, resolved to keep out of his way; and for this

purpose, he either changed himself into the mountain Gandhaki, or crept into it, there to lie snug for the twelve years. On the morrow Sani came ; but there was no Vishnû to meet him ; and Sani's indignation became so hot, that it changed him into a thunderbolt. In that form, which was something like that of a worm, he continued to drill the god-mountain through and through the body for the whole twelve years, inflicting upon him the most indescribable torture. When the time elapsed, and Vishnû got out, he commanded the Salgram marks to be worshipped as the wounds that he had received during the twelve years that he had been schistus. Such is the origin of the Salgrams of Gandhaki, and their sanctity is implicitly believed by millions of people.

But Vishnû would have required to change himself into a great part of the Himalaya, as ammonites are found in all the upper ghauts, or passes, of the lofty ridge that have been examined. In the Niti Ghaut, which leads from Hindûstan to Thibet, along the course of the Dauli branch of the Ganges, they are found at an elevation of nearly seventeen thousand feet ; and as that river, as well as the Gunduck, rises on the Thibet side of the great central chain, it is very probable that the formation containing these marine remains, occupies a great extent of

the north-eastern slope of the mountains. Few as the observations have been, this formation has been found at points nearly three hundred miles asunder; and that extent, at the great elevation that has been mentioned, is a singular feature in geology, and a great contrast to the total absence of animal remains in the Deccan and south of India.

The Andes are, next to the Himalaya, the highest mountains in the world, and granite is not found in them above the level of eleven thousand five hundred feet, the loftiest parts of the mountains being chiefly composed of porphyry. The same is the case in the highest part of the Balaghaut and Mysore; and from the scarped and columnar form which has been mentioned as belonging to the Himalaya, in the more lofty parts, it is possible that their formation may be the same. But whatever may be the composition of those mighty mountains—and that can be ascertained only after years of the most careful examination—they certainly stand “alone in their glory,” as the most remarkable feature of our globe. Besides their form and magnitude, and the influence that they have in diffusing fertility over the country, their three most remarkable features seem to be the absence of any thing like a coal formation, the absence of volcanoes, and the



absence of earthquakes,—the last two of which being in a great measure connected with each other. The Andes have still their blazing summits at various points of the range; there are the vestiges of many volcanoes that are now quenched, even near the polar sea, where they subside to a moderate elevation, there are subterraneous fires; the whole of the table land from which their most elevated peaks arise, is one scene of ruin, from the action of earthquakes; and those convulsions of nature extend their devastations to the chains that branch off. The Himalaya, on the other hand, stand in tranquil majesty, and work by means of no agent but the atmosphere; and, except the violence of the storm and the severity of the cold, there is nothing to annoy upon even their loftiest slopes. There are some warm springs; but nothing that resembles ignition; and the heat of those springs appears to be local—the decomposition of salts of iron near the spot whence the water issues. The remarkable tranquillity of the Asian mountains, in this respect, while there are volcanoes in the Asiatic isles, give some confirmation to the theory that the real cause of volcanic action is the sea, or, at any rate, water at a great depth in the earth, where the elements of that fluid are separated from each other by some chemical action, by means

of which one substance attracts the hydrogen of one portion, and another substance the oxygen of another; and the two gases meeting together, occasion that intense ignition, by which all the carbonaceous parts of the rock are consumed, and the remainder melted into glass. No inference can be drawn one way or another, from the presence or absence of volcanoes, that can in any way illustrate the structure of the mountains. They do not appear to have any necessary connexion either with inflammable or metallic strata; but are of such power as to convert into fuel all substances, and water among the rest.

The absence of volcanoes, while it gives an idea of sterility to the Himalaya ridge, narrows the view which it is necessary to take of it,—enables us to look upon it as a perennial barrier between the north and the south, which, by the daily thawing of its snows during the dry and warm months, preserves water in the channels of a thousand rivers; and by dashing back the seasonal floods from the sea, spreads over the country a new soil every season. But, while the Himalaya continue to perform this operation in the meteorology of India, the people of that country need not envy the South Americans of the mines contained in the Andes; nor need they heed much the golden sand of their

own rivers. The wealth of India is in her soil; and thence also, her nitre, the mineral of most value that she exports, is derived. Iron is found in abundance; and in a country where a forest springs up in the course of a year, mineral coal would be almost superfluous.

One of the most singular features in the soil of India is the manner in which the great plain of the Ganges terminates—the quantity of land, apparently too soft for culture, containing very little fresh water, and yet being loaded with an excessive vegetation, having no parallel in the world; the whole country, from Calcutta to the sea, and from the Hoogly to the eastern branch of the Ganges, being about one hundred and eighty miles from east to west, and seventy from north to south, consisting wholly of the richest alluvial soil, without a rock, a bit of stone, or any thing that can be considered as sand, and lying among the mouths of the finest rivers in the world, is a perfect desert, and the property of nobody. It consists of a countless number of islands, divided from each other by portions of water, of endless varieties of extent and depth—in general salt when the river is low, and then displaying the successive layers of alluvion, of which the inter-

mediate spaces are composed, but flooded quite up to the foliage of the trees, with which these are every where covered, when the river is swollen. A passage across this place is singularly striking, and the windings of the channels make it both long and intricate. The woods are luxuriant and beautiful; sometimes they so close in upon the channel that the sprays almost touch; at others they have an opening of miles, as calm and glassy as a lake. Those woods are very thickly inhabited. The waters contain great numbers of alligators, whose large bodies lie along the mud, having more the appearance of logs that have been drifted there by the flood, than of living creatures, till they are alarmed, and run to the water. The boughs and branches swarm with parrots and other birds, the noise of which would lead one to believe that the interior is full of farm-yards; while it is one continued chatter of monkeys, jumping and climbing from branch to branch. Deer are also abundant; and the tigers, as they have an ample supply of food, and are not followed by man, are very numerous, large, and daring. To land is a matter of the most imminent danger, and to approach the shore in a boat is far from safe. Yet superstition and the love of gain (probably

they are the same thing,) bring a few persons to this singular place. The former are devotees, who live because they are “tiger proof;” but the fate of by far the greater number—eventually, perhaps, of them all—shews that the tigers do not care much for their sanctity. Those who resort there for the more obvious purposes of gain are salt gatherers and woodcutters. The former are not quite in so much jeopardy: but many of the latter are carried off. And yet the Hindûs have a holy place, and a sort of sanctuary, upon that dangerous country. Those are on the island of Sagor, the farthest to seaward, at the entrance of the Hoogly. The Hoogly is the most sacred branch of that most sacred river the Ganges, and bears the bodies of thousands upon its tide to the sea. Its final confluence with that body of water is, of course, the most holy place of it; and the quantity of sin that is washed away by a dip there is worthy of being sought for through any danger. Accordingly, during the full moons in November and January, there is a resort of pilgrims to Sagor, when a few, both old and young, are sacrificed to appease the gods, and a few more are made prize of by the tigers.

The island, or rather cluster, of Sagor, (for

there are channels across it during the floods,) is of considerable extent; and, besides being much more accessible, it is much more healthy than the part of the Hoogly nearer Calcutta, as the air is from the sea, and consequently cooler, and not so much impregnated with miasmata as that which has passed over a considerable portion of the Sunderbunds. If, therefore, it could be cleared, and a town built upon it, that town would soon monopolize the export trade of Bengal. Attempts have been made with some such view as that; and, under one of the parties of adventurers, a sort of regular campaign was opened against the Tippoo of Sagur. But those quadruped monarchs of the jungle were found to be as valiant as their namesake of Seringapatam, and the fortune of war flowed more in their favour. A fortified inclosure, or stockade, was constructed, of such elevation as to be tiger proof; and though the beasts came every night to the siege, they never succeeded in making a practicable breach. Their serenade was not, however, the most agreeable, neither was it calculated to give the garrison a keener zest for the sally of the morning, that, as they went their rounds to see if all stood fast, their lantern lit up the glare of a great fiery eye, or the "pat" of a massive



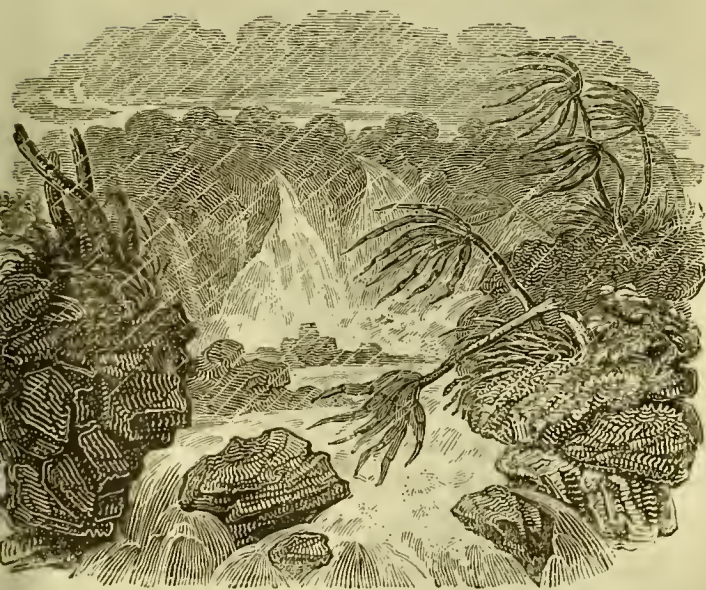
paw made the posts shake as if it had been the blow of a battering-ram. With the advantage of the stockade the garrison had the better of the besiegers; but when they sallied out to attack the strong-holds of the tigers in return, these generally had so much the advantage, that the assailants at last abandoned the enterprize, and Sagur is an independent native state.

The islands at the eastern entrance of the Ganges are more valuable. Sundeeep is about sixteen miles long and eight broad. It is wholly made up of alluvial soil, and cleared, and well cultivated; and, with the adjoining islands, it is capable of supporting a considerable population. But, like Sagur, it was once the abode of men as fell and ferocious as tigers. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese settled in considerable numbers on the adjoining coasts of Arracan and Chittagong; but on account of the cruelties that they perpetrated, they were driven out about 1607; upon which they took possession of Sundeeep, expelled the Moguls, and continued to infest the neighbouring seas as pirates, till they were expelled in their turn by the Mughls of Arracan. These were still more ferocious than their predecessors. They devastated the adjoining parts of Bengal, carried off the people, and sold them as slaves. In 1666,

the Mogul governor attacked the plunderers, and exterminated them, after a terrible resistance ; and, subsequently, Sundeeep and the adjoining isles passed into the possession of the British.

## CHAPTER IX.

## CLIMATE AND SEASONS.



## MONSOON IN THE GHATS.

THOSE who inhabit a small and insulated country, which lies in too high a latitude for being much affected by the general action of the sun upon the air and the sea, as modified by

the earth's motion, and which is cut off from other lands by the uniform surface and comparatively uniform temperature of the water by which it is surrounded, can form but a very faint notion of the climate of such a country as India. It is true that, even in England, we find a difference between the climate and the seasons on the two sides of the island. The cold winds which, in the latter part of spring, and the early summer, come across the British sea, from the chilled surface of the damp low countries on the opposite shore, become warmed as they touch the comparatively dry land of England. They acquire an evaporative power from the heat which they abstract ; and, therefore, instead of relieving the earth by fertilizing showers, they absorb the moisture of the leaves, and dry and wither the buds. In autumn, again, their effect is different, more especially toward the north, where the sea is wider, and the dry sands of Lower Saxony on the opposite sides ; the air passing over that soil, after it has been exposed to the heat of the summer, acquires a strong evaporative power, by means of which it takes up a great portion of moisture as it passes over the sea, and this moisture is poured down in the rains which fall late in the summer, or in the autumn, and deluge the northern parts of our eastern coast. On

the other hand, the winds that come from the Atlantic, where they have to pass a vast expanse of water, carry no drying blight upon their wings, but are humid at all seasons. Thus we find that in England, distant as it is from the equator, and surrounded as it is by sea, there is a modification of the weather, arising from the adjacent surfaces. There is another, arising from local surface itself. Those who have moved about much in the open air must often have observed how constantly those floating clouds which are laden with the occasional showers of summer, are seen moving towards the cliffs and heights as if there were an affinity between them. There is such an affinity, both from the attraction of gravitation and from chemical influence; and both increase with the abruptness and elevation of the steep. There are often showers along the cliffy shores of Kent, while not a drop falls upon the marshes or the low downs in Essex; and while the bold coast of Yorkshire is in storms, all is serene upon the flats and fens of Lincolnshire. The warring of winds around a promontory is a common expression; but we do not hear of the same elemental strife along a low point of sand. Thus there are three circumstances by which the climate of any portion of the earth must be modified: the position in latitude, the nature

of the surrounding regions, and the form of the surface.

Now when we look back at what has been mentioned with regard to India, we find that there all those three modifying causes are very great. One half of the surface lies within the tropic in position, and we shall see, by and by, that the remainder is, by its structure, brought within the tropic in respect of climate and temperature. The surrounding regions are as varied as can well be imagined: the sea on the south-west and south-east; an arid country on the west, extending, with comparatively few interruptions, the whole way to the west of Africa; and on the north and north-east, a chain of mountains, so lofty that, except during the warm months, a cloud cannot pass them, even in the lower openings to the interior, without being frozen and precipitated in snow,—with an elevated table-land beyond which must have less than the average quantity of moisture, and therefore more than the average quantity of heat. From the comparative dryness there will be a less waste of that heat by evaporation, and consequently more will be given out by radiation to heat the atmosphere. Along the whole west coast of India too there are mountains, in a continuous ridge, and at no great distance from the sea, with only a small inter-



ruption on the Gulf of Cambay, and the elevation is probably continued in the hills of the Gujerat Peninsula; not is it till the Gulf of Cutch be reached, that we have an extent of country with a low and flat shore, and reaching, without any intervening elevation of any consequence, all the way to the opposite mountain boundary. On the east, too, there are only partial openings till we come to the plain of the Ganges, which reaches along the base of the highest part of the mountains. Looking across the Indian ocean on the south-west, too, we find a general cause of atmospherical action in Arabia and the continent of Africa, which we know to be subject to heavy periodical rains, and droughts as severe, — more especially in that part of Africa which lies farther to the south than India. It is farther to be borne in mind, that the whole of India is a country destitute of lakes or expanses of water; that the centre of the south is an elevated table land; and that the western part is a dry desert, from the Gulf of Cutch to the banks of the Sutledj.

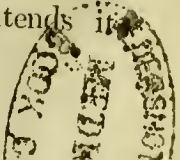
Taking all those circumstances together, they give a peculiarity to the seasons and the temperature of India, which could not be inferred from any general theory of climate, or from observation in any other part of the world.

In tropical countries, the general motion of the atmosphere is toward the point where the sun is vertical; but as the motion of the earth eastward gives that point a motion westward of about one thousand miles an hour at the equator, the general motion of the tropical atmosphere is west, or to the north of west on the south side of the parallel over which the vertical sun passes, and to the south of west on the north side of it. This motion is the trade wind, which is found constant and regular only out at sea upon the uniform surface of the great oceans,—the Atlantic and Pacific; that in the Indian Ocean being prevented by the action of the dry land of Australia on the east side, and that of Africa on the west. Thus the action of the atmospheric current in the Indian Ocean is local; and it is from north to south, or south to north, according to the season. Those winds are called the *monsoons*, from the Persian word for seasons; and they regulate the climate of India, being put in motion by the local circumstances to which we have alluded. A wind from the sea always contains a great portion of moisture, which it deposits when it meets with high land, with violence in proportion to the elevation of the obstacle and its proximity to the sea; in proportion also to the extent of the sea and the warmth. A wind from the land is

dry, more especially one from a land such as that on the north of India, where, as we have said, a rain cloud cannot, unless under very particular circumstances, pass the mountains.

The commencement of the year may be considered as the time of general tranquillity of the elements in India. Sometimes, indeed, the coast of the Carnatic is stormy even then. The storms do not, however, extend far into January, and in most other parts of India, they are over by about the month of October; the wind is then, generally speaking, from the north; and though it is cold in the high parts of the northern country, and rather chilly in some of those of the south, there is no rain, and no snow but in cold and elevated districts.

This wind, which descends from the mountains, and becomes heated as it passes over the Valley of the Ganges and the desert, acquires thereby a very great evaporative power; and though this is agreeable as long as there is much humidity in the soil to produce cold by evaporation, the ground gradually becomes dry, vegetation withers in every place where it is not irrigated by nature or by art, the clay soil becomes as hard as a brick, the rich loams are in dust, and the heat of the air is excessive. It becomes impregnated with acrid gases, and the burning wind of the desert extends its



ravages into the Valley of the Ganges as far as the upper part of Bengal. As the drought continues and increases, the whole country feels its effects, except the upper valleys in the north, which are both cooled and watered by the snows which then begin to melt upon the Hindû Cosh and the Himalaya, and render the climate delightful and the earth fertile. Over the rest of the country this arid state of things continues to increase for about four months, and notwithstanding the incessant action of tanks, and wells, and water-courses, and the great labour by which that action is kept up, desolation threatens all the productions of the earth—while the frame even of the native is relaxed by the heat, and becomes less efficient as the necessity of his labour becomes more urgent.

But the cure of this state of things is involved in the cause: the return of the sun from the southern tropic, which produces the great heat, brings northward with it the parallel of solar action in the atmosphere, and with that a general motion of the mass of the air, loaded with the vapour of the ocean, and heated by the immediate action of the sun, though not so much so as that which is over the burning land of India, and of which the motion, though generally a tranquil one, has, during the dry season,

been from the north. The dry air from the land, and the moist air from the sea, first meet at the southern part of the Malabar coast ; and the first effect is the formation of vast volumes of clouds which pass on to the north-east, are redissolved by the dry air, till strata having great differences of temperature and moisture, and consequently great differences of electric state, are blended together, and violent hurricanes, thunder and lightning, and showers of rain, are produced.

This begins about the middle, or toward the end of April ; but the great extent of dry surface to the north-east, as well as the proximity, steepness, and height of the Ghauts, the full violence of the monsoon does not take place till toward the end of May, when the rain begins to fall in torrents, which descending the steep gullies of the Ghauts, produce havoc and devastation in the water-courses, and deluge the low grounds between the sand-hills and the sea. As the quantity of rain which falls upon the Ghauts cools the air, a portion of the clouds which were at first dissolved, and carried inland, are poured down upon the table land of the Mysore, though the quantity that extends so far as the eastern Ghauts is inconsiderable, and sometimes fails. On the summit of the western Ghauts this rain is tremendous, for from three to

six months it is so violent, that out-door labour is nearly suspended, and the people are obliged to confine themselves to their houses, while showers continue for three months more. Those rains are most violent and prolonged in the country where the Krishna and Toombudra have their sources; and it is rather to be regretted that, on account of the deep and rugged nature of the beds of those rivers, this quantity of water can be turned to comparatively little account.

A portion of this rain makes its way through the passes of the Ghauts toward Cape Comorin, and waters the south of the Carnatic; but while upon the Malabar coast the violence of the rain is overturning rocks, uprooting trees, and sweeping all that it can reach downward in one headlong devastation, the people of the north part of the Carnatic, are panting under a burning sun, or refreshed only by a few occasional showers. They are, however, safe from the violent winds, which, at this season, beat against the Malabar coast. Even with them, however, the sea is not tranquil; for along the Bay of Bengal, the monsoon passes to the north-east, and forces such a volume of water into the bay, as occasions a heavy surf upon the coast.

Violent as the monsoon is, and destructive as are the ravages of the torrents where they do



break the surface, their descent upon the ere-while warm surface, makes vegetation to spring up as if by a miracle. The first and most violent burst of the monsoon seldom continues without interruption for a week; and when the sun again breaks out, it is from a purified sky, upon a regenerated country. The country is all green, and the channels, which but a few days before were dry and red, are filled with flowing streams. For the first month or six weeks, the intervals of fair weather are not long, but they gradually increase; the south-west winds continue till August or September, and they are often, though not always, accompanied by rain.

As one proceeds northward, the monsoon is not so early, neither is it quite so violent, and on the Tuptee and Nerbudda, where the country inclines to the coast, it extends farther into the interior. A portion of rain falls upon the Gujerat; but the hills there and in Ajmeer seem too low for breaking the clouds; and toward the Indus, though the wind be partially felt, it is not always accompanied by rain. The same is sometimes the case in Ajmeer, and when such seasons occur, they are attended with a failure of the crops, and famine. The rain-clouds in this part of India pass over the flat and arid surface of the desert, without any

cause to impede their progress, or otherwise make them part with their humidity; and thus though they fall partially upon the west of Delhi and Sirhind, and occasion the streams which flow there for a short distance, and are then lost in the desert; their principal course is toward the northern part of the Himalaya, and the mountains north of the Sutledj, so that the greater part of their waters flow into the Ganges, and the rivers of the Punjaub.

From the direction given to the current by the south-east coast of India, the great body of water which the monsoon carries into the Bay of Bengal, is borne toward the north-east. On the coast of Arracan, it arrives about the beginning of June, continues longer, and falls to a greater depth than in any other part of India.

Along the shore of the Circars, on the west side of the bay, the case is different, the rains later in setting in, and less abundant when they do come. The portion to the north of the Godavery has showers from the west in June, and moderate rains from the north-east in November; but, in the early part of the season, the heat is very intense, and the air very unhealthy. One principal cause appears to be the extent of naked and burning sands along the coast, the heat of which not only intercepts

the sea-breeze, but brings down a pestilent air from the hills.

In the lower part of Bengal, the current of wind from the north is met by the monsoon from the south-west, without any such interruption as the Ghauts present on the Malabar coast. The action is, therefore, a little different, as the strata of the sea and land winds are left to mingle, at a low elevation, over a much greater extent of country. The atmospherical commotion begins in thunder there about the beginning of May, and its violence is often great; but as there is no mountainous wall, the first showers, though actually deposited by the current from the sea, are driven back by that from the land, so that they have the appearance of coming from the north. The heavy rain sets in in June, and continues till September; and if they cease too early, the autumn becomes very hot, and the air, from the vapour with which it is loaded, very unhealthy. The setting in of the rains in Bengal is accompanied by violent squalls, which render the navigation of the river at all times rather difficult, and far from safe. Those rains are very constant during about two months, after which they are only partial. In Bengal, however, more especially in that part of it which lies to the left of the Ganges, the

mountains begin to exert an influence, and there are variable winds and partial showers not so immediately dependent upon the monsoon, but occasioned by the play of the atmosphere between the low lands on the banks of the river, and the high ones both toward the Himalaya, and on the confines of Bahar.

Before the commencement of the periodical rains, indeed, the Ganges and its branches begin to be swollen by the melting of the snows, so that, though there can be no question that the action of the monsoon extends there, and even to the summits of the mountains, there is a local power of vegetation in the mountains, which, whatever might be the result in the lower part of the valley, at a distance from the stream, would preserve, to a great extent, the fertility of the upper part, the eastern side of the valley, and the immediate western bank of the river. It may be true, indeed it is true, that this also depends, in a great measure, upon the operation of the monsoon; and the flat coast, to the east of the embouchure of the Indus with the desert, on the left bank of that river, may tend to fertilize the Gangetic plains, by supplying the waste of snow upon the Himalaya, because it is doubtful whether a sufficient quantity of moisture be annually carried to those mountains, from the Bay of Bengal alone, for supplying the vast

quantity which the rivers roll annually to that bay in the shape of water.

The same radiation of heat on the table land behind the Himalaya, which causes the melting of the snow by the motion of the air southward in the early part of the season, that is to say, in the part preceding the middle of June, or the beginning of July, tends to transport a portion of the humidity of the Himalaya toward the south. The existence of this radiation, the only means by which we can account for a higher temperature and more elevated cultivation on the north side of the Himalaya, which is exposed to the north, compared with that which lies on the other side, and is exposed to the south, is clearly proved by those very facts, because there is no other principle to which they can be attributed, and their existence is proved beyond all possibility of dispute. But this very circumstance of the air that passes southward from the Himalaya being warmer than that which is usually found in situations so elevated, and its being condensed, and giving out heat, as it descends into the plain, are among the obvious causes why, when the season has brought the parallel of the sun's greatest action into northern latitudes, and thereby occasioned that general motion of the atmosphere toward the north, is one of the immediate causes

of the south-west monsoon. The quantity of rain brought by that monsoon, the evaporation that takes place, and the cold which that produces, as the humid surface extends farther to the north, give the general volume of the air an impetus toward the mountains, by means of which the remainder of the monsoon vapour from the sea, as well as that raised by evaporation from the humid plain, and its fresh and vigorous vegetation, are driven against the Himalaya, and even through the passes, as it is then the warmest season of the year; and thus the table land beyond the mountains is refreshed by the action of the monsoon, led on by the heat which the radiation from that high land itself imparted to the air while moving in the opposite direction. Probably this is the most singular, as well as the most powerful and extended atmospheric action which is any where to be met with; and it is this that, by giving India a law for its own climate, makes it anomalous to those rules which were supposed to be universally applicable to climate before the Himalaya were ascended, and villages and fields found upon them, at altitudes far above that which theorists had fixed as the limit above which water could not exist, except in a state of ice or snow; and that, therefore, instead of the last and hardest of the phenogamous plants,



opening its flowers, and maturing its seed, not a moss or a lichen could exist. This limit they fixed, under the equator, at little more than fifteen thousand feet; and that, at latitude  $31^{\circ}$ , it was not much more than eleven thousand. Even after the Dauli branch of the Ganges had been ascended to the pass of Niti; when the temperature in that pass had been found to be  $46^{\circ}$  in the morning, and as high as  $80^{\circ}$  at noon; when the wild rose was just expanding its buds, and the birch its leaves there; when the furze was putting on its golden livery, and the barley appearing through the ground; when it was found that there were inhabitants there, and a mid-day temperature nearly equal to that of the West Indies at the level of the sea; and yet that the elevation was nearly seventeen thousand feet, or almost one mile above their termination of the vegetable kingdom; they clung to the hypothesis, and doubted and denied the facts, which have been verified. So dangerous is it to lay down laws for Nature, in ignorance of the principles upon which she acts.

When the sun declines toward the southern tropic, the general motion of the tropical atmosphere is changed from north to south, and the dry season returns to the greater part of India—to almost all that depends on the south-

western monsoon for its humidity. In those parts this change is not so violent as the former, as the wind is drawn away from the land; whereas, when the south-west sets in, it is driven toward it against an opposing current. Several weeks, in consequence, elapse before the north-east monsoon is steady; and, during these, there are light and variable winds. But in the humid country to the north-east of the Bay of Bengal, even the land wind at this season brings showers; and as it proceeds toward the opposite shore of that bay, it occasions heavy rain. On the shore to the north of the Krishna, the north-east monsoon does not produce a great deal of rain. The rain there is furnished by the remainder of the south-western monsoon, or, rather, by the clouds raised from the central country by the evaporation of what falls there, and the heaviest are in autumn, just before the wind begins to blow from the north-east. That wind sweeps nearly parallel to that part of the coast, and breaks with fury on the eastern Ghauts behind the Carnatic, while it rolls a more furious surf upon the beach at Madras than that which is occasioned by the opposite monsoon. October, November, and December are, generally speaking, the most dangerous months on that coast; and by the middle of January the shore is comparatively tranquil.

till April, when the surf from the south-west monsoon again sets in.

Such are the general motions of the atmosphere, and the distribution of humidity over India; and upon these the temperature to a very considerable extent depends. As the country, generally speaking, becomes dry for the greater part of the half year between December and June, while the general motion of the atmosphere is southward to the sea, the air, as long as there is moisture to be evaporated, is rather cold. This cold increases rather than diminishes on the high grounds to the southward of the Sone. The cause is obvious. The air there, on its motion southward, ascends from a low to a high level, and, on its ascent, it expands, abstracting caloric from the ground to sustain the expansion. As it descends into the valleys and beds of the rivers, it gives out a little heat by condensation; but as it is constantly shifting, it takes up perhaps as much by evaporation; and as it climbs the southern slopes, it again cools. Thus the winter months are cold upon the high grounds in Hyderabad, although so far within the tropic as to have only about  $17^{\circ}$  of latitude; and the high land in Mysore is comparatively cold, though three degrees farther to the south. In the latter country the cold is augmented by evapora-

tion from the very rainy tract at the summit of the Western Ghauts.

At Delhi the winter's cold is sometimes  $3^{\circ}$  or  $4^{\circ}$  below freezing, and ice is of course formed. At this time, which is in December, the thermometer is as low as  $52^{\circ}$  during the night at Calcutta, and not more than about  $86^{\circ}$  during the day : while in Benares and Allahabad, fires are felt very comfortable ; and even in the low country, ice is obtained by exposing water during the night in jars of porous earth. There is never any frost in the Deccan or to the south of it ; but sometimes the temperature at Hyderabad is only  $3^{\circ}$  or  $4^{\circ}$  above freezing. On the coasts the temperature is of course higher ; and it is higher on the east coast than on the west ; because there is more moisture, and consequently a greater evaporation on the latter. Taking Madras and Bombay as medium stations on the two coasts, the difference in winter may be stated at  $7^{\circ}$ ,—Madras being  $71^{\circ}$  and Bombay  $64^{\circ}$ . So long as the evaporation continues to be great, there are very heavy dews, which are hurtful to those exposed to them, in consequence of the cold occasioned by their evaporation from the skin.

As the evaporation is the chief cause of cold in India, and as the succession of drying winds soon exhausts it, the greatest heat arrives earlier

than in Europe. In April and May, before the showers, the thermometer at Calcutta rises to  $110^{\circ}$ ; it is sometimes rather warmer in the Circars, and probably more so in the Carnatic. The warmest month is, of course, that immediately preceding the rains; but on the coasts the excess of heat sometimes brings a sea-breeze; though on coasts like those of the Carnatic and the Circars, that is rendered of no avail in the interior by the sandy and saline shore.

In places where the ground becomes perfectly dry, and where there are no acrid mineral exhalations, the chief danger to health is from exposure to the direct rays of the sun,—a *coup de soleil* being almost the certain result of such temerity. Nor is man the only victim of the burning sky; for birds sometimes drop down dead in the very streets and squares of Calcutta. The usual means with Europeans is to keep their apartments, and procure a ventilation, which is rendered much more refreshing if the air be admitted through mats that are kept moist.

Toward the northern mountains the temperature is very different, and the warm season is comparatively late. Snow falls in vast quantities in the valleys among the Himalaya; and though it does not appear that any body re-

mains in those wilds to describe the storms of their truly Alpine winter, there are evidences that they must be violent. Snow-storms, in countries where the elevation is sufficient, are more violent in the warm latitudes than in the cold—among the mountains of Cantal, in the south of France, than upon the Doffra Fiall, in Norway; and it is probable that they may have a fury, proportionate to the vicinity of the tropic and the height, among the vast peaks of the Himalaya. In the road leading to the seasonal temple and town of Badrinath, on the banks of the Alacananda branch of the Ganges, below the junction of the Dauli, and more than six thousand feet lower than the ghaut or pass of Niti, fragments of snow were found lying undissolved so late as the 29th of May, which measured seventy feet in thickness. It is possible, however, that these may have been the remains of masses that had rolled down, in the manner of minor avalanches, from the hills above, which have an elevation of more than twenty-three thousand feet, or thirteen thousand above the level of Badrinath. But still that elevation, which is stated at ten thousand two hundred and ninety-four feet, does not appear to be habitable, or even approachable, in the winter; as, when that season approaches, the Brahmins, who receive the do-



nations of pilgrims there in the summer, leave their divinity in a hole, to the guardianship of the snows, and betake themselves to a more genial atmosphere.

Farther up, the pass of Niti is not accounted practicable till nearly the end of June ; and in the early part of that month, the storms upon the mountains are violent. The morning is, as has been stated, not cold, and the noon is sultry ; but apparently from the absorption of heat by the melting of the snow, the weather gets cold and gloomy by three o'clock. The clouds begin to settle upon the mountains, where they deposit snow upon the peaks, and rain on the lower slopes. The quantity of snow that falls is sufficient to cover the mountains, which, at day-break, present one mass of snow. The heat of the early part of next day melts that on the places exposed to the sun ; and the melted snow, together with the rain, form that volume of water which, before the monsoon has begun to act in the Valley of the Ganges, floods all the tributaries of that river which have their origin high in the mountains. The summer which comes thus late is of but very short duration, for the snows soon settle down upon the passes and gorges by which the people are driven to the low country,—or, rather, they are warned off before it comes, and

leave the storm in full possession of the mountains till the warm season of a succeeding year. The information which we have respecting the summer in these elevated regions is, however, very scanty ; and as to what happens in the winter, there is not now, and there probably will never be, any thing but conjecture.

There is no reason to doubt that, throughout the whole chain of mountains, from the first branch of the river of Cabul, in the west, to the last of the Brahmapootra, in the east, there is the same warm though brief summer, and the same alternate falling and melting of the snow in spring, with the same mass of that substance in the winter. Now those are the causes that give to the land of all the valleys that vast quantity of alluvial soil which renders them so fertile. The alternate freezing and thawing tend to decompose the rock itself—the clay-slate and limestone ; the summer finds vegetable matter ; and the continued floods, while the snow melts or the rain falls, combine to send the whole mingled together in that way which requires only the assistance of heat and moisture to render it fertile. In this one sees also one reason why the country to the eastward of the Indus should be a desert : the Sutledj cuts off its communication with the mountains for an extent of nearly five hundred miles upon

a parallel of latitude ; and, therefore, all that breadth of the country is deprived of the fertilizing influence of the mountain deposits. In that part of the country, too, there is a long succession of secondary hills, so that the Sutledj deposits all the richer matter with which it is charged before it reaches the plain ; and therefore it washes toward its confluence with the Indus little else than unprofitable sand, which, the moment that the flood is gone, is burned and dried by an atmosphere that deposits no rain. As has been already noticed, however, this desert facilitates the passage of humidity to the Himalaya ; and thus, while it is barren itself, it becomes a minister of fertility to other places.

This annual action must gradually decompose the Himalaya ; but the operation is a very slow one, and the very altitude of the great summits insures *them* against decay. Up to seventeen thousand feet the powers of moisture and temperature make their waste ; but there is a region above that where all is still and perennial. Clad in its armour of snow, Dhawalaghiri stands untouched by the elements. That snow equally resists the heat of summer and the cold of winter. No water (for water cannot possibly exist at such an altitude) can insinuate into any fissure there during the summer, to

expand and burst the rock by its congelation during the winter; and, probably, the solid parts of the mountain, under the snow, do not vary one degree in temperature in a thousand years. It is true that there can be no life there; but it is equally true, that there can be no decomposition. The rock, could we lay it bare, would be unaltered in a single line from what it was when the snowy mantle was first thrown over it; and, therefore, unless some earthquake or volcano shall shatter it, we know of no power in nature by which it can be in the least altered, till the war of the elements around its base shall have so far removed the lower strata that it shall yield to the power of gravitation, and fall by its own weight; and the prospect toward such a catastrophe is so remote that it needs hardly be looked forward to. And yet, while Dhwalag-hiri and his kindred giants continue to hold their places, the climate of India, and the revolutions of the seasons, the wet monsoon from the south, and the dry wind from the north, must remain as they are. No cause that can at present be named or contemplated can affect the mountains; and while they stand there, the monsoon from the south must come, and must be followed by drought and heat. Even though man should cease to labour and abandon the surface—though the tanks, the wells, and the

water-courses should all be given up, and the approach of the desert leave hardly a margin of green along the banks of the rivers—as probably has, to a certain extent, been the case in the western part of the country—the rains of summer would still come to the Himalaya, and they would come in greater abundance, so that the elements of fertility would still remain; and though the labour would be great in proportion as were the neglect, man might again call them into action.

It was mentioned, in the introductory chapter, that the permanence of the people of India, amid the changes of the rest of the world, are very remarkable; and it is a striking coincidence that this permanence should also belong to the country itself. Both may depend on the same cause—“He who lies at the bottom can fall no further.” We shall afterwards inquire whether that applies to the people;—that it does to the country, in so far as ordinary causes of change are concerned, all those features, the outlines of which we have attempted to trace, combine to establish. The violent changes of the Indian climate have already done nearly all that they can do in the reduction of the surface. In other countries we find the falls of rivers working their way upward, so as to let out the water of lakes; and we find the sea

invading the shores. But there is no such thing in India: the lakes, of which there are pretty strong evidences in many parts of the country, have already been emptied; and the sea has been so saturated with the débris of the land, that the currents are constantly returning it in sand-banks to the shore. The table lands in the south, if they ever were covered with a softer formation, are now worn to the primary rocks; and though the decomposition of these be in progress, that progress is exceedingly slow. The upland streams have so worn their courses to the solid rock, that all which they can now send down by any one flood is that which has been accumulated since the preceding one; and the larger rivers can now only plough for themselves channels in the matter which they have already deposited, or so elevate their banks and beds by their new deposits, as more conveniently to irrigate the country if it remain cleared and cultivated, or overflow it, and bring it into the luxuriant vegetation of a jungle, if it were left to nature. The rain that falls upon the surface of India during the hot season, if that surface be such as to retain it for ever so short a time, will not lie idle. If you duly water any surface it will, in time, yield you a crop. The germs of plants are so minute, that they may be anywhere without one



observing them, and they may be moved about by very slight causes. The seeds of the common puffball are so minute, that more than six hundred millions of them are contained in a single solid inch, and one plant must often contain many more than that number. But that is comparatively a large plant; and, though there be no necessary connexion between the size of the seed and that of the plant, (the seed of the Windsor bean being much larger than that of the pine,) there is no reason to conclude that the seed of the puffball is the smallest in nature. It may give us some idea, however, of the minute size and the vast number. Now, it seems to be a law of nature, that the smaller any germ of life is, the more proof it is against destruction. Boiling water, which destroys the principle of life in the egg of an ostrich, has not the same effect upon that of a fly; and cold, which destroys the vegetable power of fruits, has no effect upon that of mosses and lichens. Therefore, "if you duly water a rock, and the temperature be, at any time of the year, ever so little above the freezing point, it will, in time, yield you a crop." If the desert on the Indus could be watered, the lichens, the mosses, and all the plants, up to the forest tree, would return.

Indeed, it is in a great measure because the

plains of India are under cultivation, that they become dry and naked during the warm and thirsty months. The native jungle would retain humidity, and would gradually invade the deserts, just as it has invaded the neglected lands on the south of the Nerbudda. The vegetation which such a climate as that of India would naturally produce, is not, however, that which is most useful to man, or most desirable in commerce; and, therefore, with greater productive powers in the soil, and greater energies in the climate, more labour of man is required, to prevent the greater portion of India from reverting to a thick forest, swarming with ravenous beasts, and the rest from passing into a desert of sand, than is necessary in places where the soil is less fertile and the climate less active. But there is this compensation, that, when the industry is exerted, the reward is proportionate.

## CHAPTER X.

## SCENERY AND VEGETATION.



GROUP OF FRUITS.

UPON those subjects, only a few hints can be afforded in order to make the outline complete ; for they are so extensive and so varied in their characters, that no reasonable limits would include the details, and no ordinary language

would do them justice. From the perennial snows to the burning sands of the Carnatic, there is every climate and every variety of surface, with every degree of fertility ; and, therefore, an Indian scene is almost anything that the fancy can imagine ; and an Indian plant leaves a very large portion of the botanical collection open for choice. In the mountains, the vegetation, and, therefore, the scenery, is European, only there is, probably, a greater number of plants than upon any single ridge in Europe, and the features of the scene are far more gigantic. In the west of Hindûstan Proper, it is bleak and dreary, and there is not much to break the dull outline of the parched horizon. In the south-west of Ajmeer and Gujerat, it is at times exceedingly picturesque ; hills of fantastic shapes, beautiful little lakes, thickets of rich foliage, and streams, now foaming over precipices, now rippling round rocks, now lost in foliage, and now drunk up by the sand. In Malwa, and throughout the whole of the slopes and dells that intersect the higher part of the Deccan, the scenery is luxuriant ; and where the population is scanty, it is either wild and impenetrable with jungle, consisting of large trees, laced together with creeping and parasitical plants, or it is an arid waste ; but still there rises here and there some rude rock, that overtops the

whole, whether in the naked wild or the tangled forest. The whole of the west coast from Surat southward, is singularly picturesque; groves of cocoas, and other palms, which are entwined with the pepper plant, over which rise little mounds with trees, all new to an European eye, and many of them not yet named in botany; while behind those again there is a succession of verdure, consisting of all plants that can bear the heat, and live for months without moisture. These are broken by naked cliffs, and ravines that have been broken up by the rains; and over all, the majestic teak raises its lofty form, and bears some resemblance to giant mountains seen over the whole. Sand-banks, and rocks, and inlets of the sea, with pools and streams of fresh water, in the rainy season, give effect to the foreground of this singular scene,—a scene which is rendered the more remarkable by stretching, with less variety than there is to be found upon almost any other coast, for a length of almost nine hundred miles.

Nor is this singularity of appearance confined to the mere line of the coast; for it continues till the Ghauts be ascended, and the table land gained. The Ghauts, or passes, are so rough and steep, that they cannot, in general, be ascended, and far less descended, with

wheel carriages. At one place the masses of rock are so near to each other, that the trees meet over head, and cause a sort of twilight under the utmost influence of the vertical sun; a turning of this opens a prospect of the low country all the way to the sea; another passes shelving over the brink of a frightful precipice; from a third, one looks down into a natural basin, of which the sides are rocks, the crevices of which are stuck full of plants, and the bottom one mass of trees which cover the ground, which are yet perfectly alive with monkeys and birds. Occasionally a stream of water may be observed in the middle of the mass of foliage; and sometimes a small cascade pours its flood full into the abyss.

On the coast of the Carnatic, the scenery is rather tame, from the flat and arid character of the country below the Ghauts; and even the mountains in that part of India have not the magnificence of those on the west coast; but at some distance from the sea, the country, from the Caverry to Cape Comorin, has a good deal of the character of the Oriental Isles. As we have said, however, words cannot convey an adequate notion of Indian scenery. In a country where the grass forms groves, and the reed emulates in height the spiry poplar of England,—where the palm and the cinnamon are



met with at the one extremity, and the pine of Scotland and Norway—and even the dwarf-birch of Lapland are found at the other,—to paint the scenery would require a canvas equal in extent to the country. The vegetation is almost as difficult, and therefore we shall notice only a few of the more valuable species.

Among the forest or timber trees of India, the first place, in utility, and far from the last in majestic beauty, must be given to the TEAK (*tectona grandis*). The teak is not universally diffused over the country; but in the places where it is found, it is generally so abundant as to give a character to the forest. Its chief localities are the Western Ghauts, the Rajahmundry hills on the Godavery, in the back country of the Circars, and on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, in the vicinity of Chittagong. The places on the west coast where this valuable timber is most abundant, are the coasts of Canara and Malabar—in the former of which it is most accessible; but the trees are of larger dimensions in the latter. As has been too often the case with natural forests, however, it appears that more attention has been paid to the cutting down of the existing teak, than to the ensuring of a fresh supply when

that shall be exhausted. More than three thousand trees are cut down annually, in the district of Canara, and no mention is made that any are planted. Those who look only to the present time never bear in mind the fact, that when the more valuable forest trees of any country, or even those that have not been planted by the hand of man, are cut down straight forward, the same species very seldom springs up as a succession. Furze and brambles now luxuriate in some places of England where there once were lofty oaks, and where there would have been oaks still if the trees had been thinned, and not extirpated. Heath and moss are in the same manner occupying the place of the pine forests that have been cut down on the Scottish mountains; and in Australia, which, in situation and climate, more nearly resembles India, a comparatively useless acacia is said to occupy the place from which the cedrela and the *casuarina* have been removed. The teak of the Malabar coast is reckoned better than that of the banks of the Godavery, and both are said to be more compact than that from the east side of the bay. But from whatever place it may come, the teak is a most valuable timber for all purposes that require strength, and especially for ship building. For

that purpose it is at least thus far superior to oak, that, while the tannin in the one tends to corrode iron bolts, there is a principle in the other by which they are preserved.

If universality of application, rapidity of growth and durability, are to be held as recommendations, probably the next Indian tree in value is a reed—the BAMBU (*bambusa arundinacea*). Probably that is the most rapid-growing of plants, as it will shoot up to the height of sixty feet in a single season; acquires a diameter of more than six inches at the base; is tough, strong, and firm, and at the same time light; answers for a vast number of useful domestic purposes, without any other dressing or preparation than being cut into lengths; and cases itself in an enamel of flint, which looks as handsome as most varnishes, and is more difficult to injure than any. In one year it attains its full height, and during the next, the wood consolidates. It begins to spring up after the ground has been completely saturated with rain, which is about the month of July; and reaches to its whole height by the time that the rains are over. When strength and compactness are wanted, it is customary at that time to cut off the tops, as, if that were not done, the centre would become very hollow by the exhaustion occasioned by the production of the flowering stem. When

the formation of that is prevented, the whole strength of the plant remains in the wood. Naturally, the bambû grows as straight as an arrow ; but should it be wanted in any curve, that can be very easily obtained by bending it when young and soft, and retaining it in the bent position till it be matured. The bambû grows, and forms thick jungles in many parts of India: but, probably, there are no places where it grows more abundantly, and to a larger size, than at Goomsur, in the Circars, about sixty miles to the west of Juggernaut, and in the Western Ghauts, not far from Goa. In both those places it forms extensive and almost impenetrable forests. The bambûs grow as thick together as the stalks in a field of wheat, and as they are armed with sharp spines, which are tipped with the same silicious matter that makes the bark so hard, and are at the same time so tough and inflexible, and have the shoots from the joints interlaced like a piece of matting, that there is no way of making a passage through them, but by setting them on fire in the dry season. When the portion of the Circars where they are so abundant, was in the hands of the natives (and the people by whom it was possessed were as wild as their country), they used to erect fortifications of growing bambûs, which, unless burned, were nearly im-

pregnable. When the soil answers, it is hardly possible to imagine a more profitable crop than the bambû, the quantity of which that could be produced upon a single acre, in the course of two years, being greater than could be produced of any other kind of timber equally serviceable, upon ten times the surface in a dozen of years. The natural supply is, however, so great in India, that cultivation is a matter of minor importance. Bambû jungles are said to produce a very unwholesome effect upon the air, by stopping its circulation along the surface of the ground; and, whether that be or be not generally true, it is certain that Goomsur is one of the most unwholesome spots in the whole country.

Various species of the numerous and peculiar family of palms give a character to the scenery of India, and also furnish the inhabitants with many valuable products. Of these the one which ranks the foremost in general usefulness probably is—

THE COCOA-NUT TREE (*cocos nucifera*). The numerous and important uses of this tree have obtained for it a place in the mythology and important ceremonies of the Hindûs. When the virgins of the Hindû villages have performed their morning ablutions in the tank or reservoir appropriated to that purpose, they

go in procession to the temple of the village god, bearing, on bright brass plates, an oblation of the most fragrant flowers of the east, together with slices of the cocoa-nut, or entire nuts, according to their ability and the strength of their devotion. At most ceremonies, indeed, this sacred nut enters into the oblation; and upon the western coast, when the violence of the monsoon begins to abate, and the water may again be navigated with safety, the people cast each their slice of cocoa-nut upon the tide, to propitiate the spirit of the ocean.

According to their knowledge and habits, this is the only way in which they take to express their gratitude for the possession of a plant which is applicable to so many useful purposes.

A minute description of a fruit so well known as the cocoa-nut would be superfluous. The tree attains a considerable height in those places which are best suited for its growth; and it grows on those sandy soils which are not so well adapted for the culture of other useful vegetables. Like the rest of the palm family, the cocoa-nut tree is without branches; but the trunk consists of a tissue of remarkably tough fibres, that intersect each other like network, and thus the tree can bear those violent storms and hurricanes which are so frequent



on the Indian shores. The middle rib of the leaves is often twelve or fourteen feet long, and is very firm and strong. The leaflets are very numerous, of considerable length, and very durable. These leaflets are not only used for the manufacture of baskets, but are an important article in Hindû architecture, being plaited together to form the roofs and walls of houses, of which the trunks, when split, compose the beams and rafters.

The flowers come out at the roots of the leaves, in long sheaths, of which there is a considerable number upon a vigorous tree. When the flowers have nearly attained maturity, the sheaths open, the male flowers drop off, the germs begin to expand into nuts, and after these have attained a considerable size, the sheath also shrinks up. The fruit, when it approaches maturity, is very large, far larger than the nut which is imported into this country. It consists, externally, of a hard brown rind, which is very thin and tender; within that there is a great quantity of brown fibres. This fibrous matter, which is known by the name of *coire*, is of great use to the natives. When short, it is used for the same purposes as baked hair in this country, and cushions stuffed with it are very elastic. It is also spun into a cordage of a very superior quality; and there have been many instances of

vessels riding out storms securely by coire cables, when the best hempen ones, of European manufacture, have failed.

The use of the cocoa-nut shell as a vessel is well known in this country. It is one of the most firm and durable of vegetable substances, and requires very little preparation to make it fit for use. The pulp of the nut, though rather indigestible, when used alone, is a favourite ingredient in many Indian dishes. It also yields a great quantity of oil, which is used in India for the lamp, and for many other purposes.

In the southern part of India, where the temperature upon the low and sandy coasts that are best fitted for the growth of the cocoa-tree, is always sufficiently high, the tree has a constant succession of ripe fruit, and thus the produce of a little grove of those trees is very considerable. The trees, however, require some care: they must not be suffered to be choked up by the luxuriant vegetation which springs up in the places where they grow, always when the rain sets in, nor by the parasitical plants, which, fastening their germs and bulbs in the inequalities of the trunk, are apt to cover the tree with a foliage which is not its own, and which, were it allowed to remain, would drain the substance of the tree, and pre-

vent the ripening of the fruit. On low and favourable grounds the cocoa-nut tree begins to bear in four or five years after it is planted; but in higher situations it requires seven or eight years. A vigorous tree will yield as many as five hundred full grown nuts in the season; and the number of years that it will continue bearing is very great, greater, indeed, than has been ascertained, as a decayed tree of this description, arising merely from natural causes, is a very rare occurrence.

On the coasts of Malabar and Canara, those palms are so very abundant that there are supposed to be more than three millions of them in the former district alone. The uses that we have already mentioned, are but a few of those to which the natives apply them. They furnish a beverage, or rather two, a refreshing and an intoxicating one, and also a substitute for sugar; but those products are obtained from various palms besides that which bears the cocoa-nut. Those trees are remarkable for their quantity of juice, which may be drawn from the tree either when the young shoots that are to produce the flowers, have made their appearance, or by incisions into the wood, the fibrous network of which is full of liquid. The juice which is obtained (whether from this or from any other species of palm) is understood to be best if

drawn during the night, as the great heat of the sun, during the day, brings on the acetous fermentation, and converts it into vinegar. The juice thus obtained is called toddy by the English; and it becomes arrack, after it has undergone the vinous fermentation, and is then distilled;—when boiled down to a syrup, without fermentation, it is known by the name of jagary, and serves as a substitute for sugar, and also as an ingredient in a cement, which stands the weather.

The palms are, however, so very numerous in India, that the bare names of one or two more are all that we can find room to give. The great fan palm, which is not unfrequently upon the low and warm shores in the south, is the most majestic of the family; one leaf will afford shelter to a dozen of men, or entirely roof one side of a cottage. The smaller fan palm affords toddy, and so does the palmyra, or brab palm, the leaves of which are the substance on which writing is generally performed. The letters are first traced with a style or needle, without any ink; and the whole is afterwards smeared over with a pigment, which can be rubbed off from the general surface of the leaf, but which remains in the traces made by the style. Farther to the north, the palm which is most esteemed for the production of toddy, is the

wild date. Indeed in a country where shade and protection from the rain merely are required, it is difficult to imagine a description of tree better adapted for answering those purposes than the palm, which in the sap as in the fruit always yields some substance that contributes to the support of human life; while the form of the stem, the spread and the graceful curve of the leaves, render the palm one of the most elegant of nature's productions. Hence the nations, both of the east and of the west, have made it the emblem of power, victory, and immortality.

There are two other palms that demand a separate notice,—the sago, and the areca, or cabbage-palm. Neither of these is so common in India as the other palms; but the sago palm is valuable for the quantity of food that can be obtained from its stem, and the betel is one of the necessities of life, at least of comfortable life in India. When split in pieces, and macerated in water, the wood of the sago palm gives out a great quantity of mucilage and farinaceous matter, which in some places is made into bread; and the areca, besides yielding an excellent, though expensive, pot-herb, in the young and tender shoots, supplies in the nuts, one ingredient in the betel, which is so generally chewed as a luxury by the Hindûs. For

this purpose, it is mixed with the leaf of the betel pepper, and sharpened with a little chunum, or quick lime. This palm does not grow generally in India, and it is not met with native and without culture, in almost any part of the country, with the exception of a portion of the west coast in Concan and Canara, and near the Tiperah hills to the north of Chittagong. The quantity of those nuts imported into the northern provinces is so great, that they form one of the leading articles of island trade in Hindûstan. The bare enumeration of the palms of India and their uses, would, however, occupy an entire volume; and of them all the wood, the fibres, the leaves, and the sap, or fruit, have their use in the domestic economy of the people.

The BABUL tree (*acacia Arabica*) is one of the most beautiful and useful in India. Its foliage of long and delicate leaves with a number of leaflets pendant, and always green, is very beautiful; and nothing can be more pleasant than the odour of its flowers, which are yellow balls, made up of small filaments. The timber is much esteemed for purposes where lightness and strength are required; and by incision, the wood yields a gum, which, not the same, answers nearly the same purpose as gum-arabic. When lands of moderate elevation



vation in the central parts of India, are neglected, and allowed to run wild, the babul is one of the most prevailing trees with which they are overrun; and nothing can be more beautiful and fragrant than some of the wilds in Gujerat, where the banks of pools and streams are at once adorned and perfumed by the babul.

There is another acacia which overruns the more elevated parts of the country; and which, though it does not always or often merit the epithet of tree, (seldom attaining more than twelve feet in height), is of considerable note, as producing the gum-resin, which is generally known by the name of *terra japonica*. The substance in question has no claim to either of those epithets, as it is a vegetable substance, and not an earth; and as the tree (*acacia catechu*) which produces it, grows abundantly in all the hilly parts of central India. It has also been said, that catechu is one of the ingredients which the people of India mix with the betel leaf and chunum; but that also is a mistake, as the only use to which they apply it is some purpose in dying, and as a salve for wounds. Like the gum of the babul tree, catechu is obtained from the wood, but not by exudation from the living tree. To extract the catechu, the wood is cut into short pieces,

and all the white wood on the outside of these carefully removed. The pieces are then boiled for a considerable time in water; and the extract is first evaporated in shallow vessels, and then dried in the sun. Catechu is a very powerful astringent, and would answer well for the tanning of leather, nearly one half of its weight consisting of tannin.

There are two species of *pterocarpus* found in India, which are much valued, the one for its gum and the other for its wood; these are the dragon's-blood tree, (*pterocarpus draco*), and the sandal-wood tree, (*pterocarpus santalinus*). The dragon's blood tree grows to the height of about twenty feet, generally on elevated situations. The gum-resin (which, however, is said to be produced also by several other trees) sometimes exudes naturally, when it appears in the shape of drops or tears, and is much more pure than that which is obtained in masses.

The sandal-wood is almost exclusively confined to the south-west of Mysore, just above the Ghauts, where it is extensively grown, and forms an important article of trade, both with Arabia and China, in both of which countries it is valued chiefly as a perfume; in Europe it is used chiefly as a dye, to communicate a red colour, or to deepen the common yellow dye.

to orange. For the ordinary purposes of commerce, it is ready at ten years' growth. At that age it is cut down, and divided into lengths, which are buried in the ground, in order that the sapwood may be destroyed by the white ants. That they very soon accomplish, without touching the red and perfumed wood in the interior; and when they have completed their labour, the valuable part is taken up, and is ready for sale. The tree is found on the Eastern Ghauts; but the soil there appears to be too thin for it, or the climate too dry, for it has very little colour or flavour.

One timber tree of India, though it does not attain a very great size, is valuable from growing upon the salt and sand plains of the Carnatic, where hardly any other tree will grow. That is the common bead-tree (*melia azadirach*). It consists of a number of straight and very slender shoots. Another is worthy of notice—a species of croton, upon the twigs of which, the *coccus lacca*, a small winged insect, forms the nidus for its young, of that substance called lac, or gum-lac, which is of so much use in the manufacture of varnishes.

Though the SPICES, or aromatic and pungent vegetables of India, cannot vie with those of the eastern archipelago, they are still valuable; and before those islands and the tropical parts

of America were known, they were the chief source whence the western world obtained its supply.

The *laurus cassia*, or cassia tree, of the Malabar coast, has some resemblance to the cinnamon of Ceylon; and the cassia, under the name of Malabar cinnamon, is sometimes sold for the more valuable product of the island. It is thick and coarse, compared with the true cinnamon, and very inferior to it in flavour.

The *pepper vine* is found native in some places of India, more especially in the Circars; and it has been extensively introduced into culture. Many of the forests on the Western Ghauts produce it very abundantly, without any culture, and there are places where the culture is largely and profitably carried on. In the rich lands on the Malabar coast, pepper forms in many places the chief article raised for exportation. The culture is rather expensive while the trees are young, as they then required to be carefully watered; but the land has the advantage of affording two crops at the same time, one from the pepper vines, and another from the jacca trees on which the vines are supported. The vines are raised by planting slips, which as they shoot up are trained to the stems of the jacca trees; they come into bearing at the age of three or four years; and the average

produce of each vine may be about five pounds of pepper in the year.

But of all the pungent plants of India, the favourite with the native is the BETEL, (*piper betel*), which they chew along with their arecanut and lime. The district where that is produced in the greatest abundance, and of the finest quality, is on the east side of the Minga river, (the mouth of the Brahmapootra), between the Tiperah hills and the north-east part of the Bay of Bengal. From this district, and the other moist and fertile ones, on the eastern branch of the Lower Ganges, a great deal is sent, not only to Hindûstan, but to the countries to the east.

Another plant, which yields aromatic seeds, is the cardamom palm, (*elestoria cardamomum*), which grows in nearly the same parts of the country that produce the black pepper, and flourishes best in shady places. The plant is about ten or twelve feet in height; and the grains called cardamoms are the seeds. This plant is, strictly speaking, a reed, and nearly allied to the ginger and turmeric, both of which grow in the same country.

The FRUITS of India are numerous, of excellent quality, and, though perhaps none of them are now peculiar to India, there are many which were originally obtained from that country;

and it has been already observed that the better fruits of Europe may have come originally from the south side of the Hindû Cosh, and the Himalaya. All that we can mention must be merely a specimen, and these shall be taken from those that are generally said to be most characteristic of India. It may, however, be remarked, in passing, that, in consequence of the warmth of its plains and valleys, India is calculated to produce in cultivation all the fruits of the tropical regions; while the elevation of its mountains, and the consequent rigour of their climate, give it a range as wide as to take in the produce of Lapland itself.

Of those fruits which we may reckon peculiar to India, and found abundantly to the westward of the Bay of Bengal, perhaps the most delicious is the MANGO (*mangifera Indica*). Like the cocoa-nut, the mango finds a place in the mythology of the Hindûs; and the tree is represented as growing out of, and overshadowing the head of the goddess Indrance, in the excavated temple of Indra, at Ellora. The mango is very widely diffused over India, and found, both in a wild and in a cultivated state, from the hills of Sirhind, on the north-west of Delhi, to the southmost point of the peninsula. As is the case with many of the other fruits, it is said to be better on the west coast of the peninsula.



than on the east, till the humid districts on the east of Bengal are arrived at. Travellers say that the finest are produced in the Mazagory district, near Bombay; that the parent tree there is guarded by an armed band, when the fruit is ripe; and that during the reign of Shah Jehan, the father of Aurungzebe, about the middle of the seventeenth century, carriers were placed at stations all the way from this coast to Delhi, in order that the mangoes of Concan might be enjoyed in perfection, as the finest vegetable dainty at the imperial table.

The mango is a very beautiful tree, having in its general habit some resemblance to the walnut, only the leaves are more gracefully formed. The flowers, which are small, whitish, and have each five lancet-shaped petals, grow in large pyramidal bunches. They are followed by clusters of fruit, which are slightly kidney shaped, and about the size of an ordinary pear. The fruit, when ripe, varies much in colour, there being upon the same tree all shades, from apple-green to a bright golden orange, having the one side marked with glowing crimson. In the eastern islands the mango attains a weight of two pounds, though it is never so large even in the most favourable places of India. The skin of the mango is thin and smooth; and underneath that there is a flesh or pulp, rather

firm to appearance, but which is far more cooling and delicious in the flavour than any peach. It is difficult to imagine a finer fruit, and it has the advantage of being very productive. Until the close of the Burmese war, and the territory which the events of that war put the British in possession, the mango was the finest fruit in British India, and it had no equal in any of the intermediate countries.

Since, however, the country of Tavoy, on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, has been added to the possessions of the Company, the mangosteen and the durion may be reckoned among the number of fruits in British India. Neither of these fruits, or, so far as we know, the plant upon which it is produced, has ever been raised in Europe, even as a curiosity; and the fruits will not come to maturity in India, west of the Bay of Bengal, where, it seems, the protracted drought and the violence of the monsoons are not suited to their habits. The situation of Tavoy and Mergui resembles much more that of the eastern isles, and there we accordingly find those dainties of the vegetable kingdom that have hitherto been supposed to be confined to them.

The MANGOSTEEN (*garcinia mangostana*) is, to the senses of a European, the most delicious fruit that grows. The tree is also a most ornamental one. It rises to the height of

about twenty feet ; and the arrangement of the branches gives to the top of it the outline of a parabolic conoid, which, as it is the form assumed by the jet of a fountain, seems at once the most stable and the most graceful of figures. The leaves are large, and of a beautiful colour ; and, in their arrangement, as well as in the flower, there is some resemblance to the habit of the *camellia japonica*, only the whole is more majestic. The leaves are at least eight inches long, and four in breadth at the middle ; the flowers are produced at the terminations of the shoots, and resemble single roses, with their petals of a fine dark red.

The fruit is spherical, but compressed a little at the root, where it is embraced by a calyx of four petals, and at the crown, where there is a cape consisting of six rays. When ripe the fruit is about the size of an ordinary orange, and of a fine brown colour, dappled with yellow. The rind is about the thickness of that of an orange ; and thin membranes divide the interior into six cells, in which the seeds are contained. Those cells also contain the pulp, the flavour of which all who have tasted agree in admiring, as the highest gratification of the palate, though no two of them be quite agreed as to what it most nearly resembles. The flavour of the



grape and that of the strawberry are contained in it, while it has a peculiar pungency, to which perhaps camphor, in very small quantity, probably bears as near a resemblance as any thing with which Europeans are familiar, and it leaves a sense of coolness upon the palate, which, under the burning sky of those regions, is peculiarly pleasant. "I and my companions," says Abel, a competent judge, "were anxious to carry with us some precise expression of its flavour; but, after satisfying ourselves that it participated of the compound nature of the pine-apple and the peach, we were obliged to confess that it had many other equally good but utterly inexpressible flavours." The mangosteen is found both cultivated and wild; and the latter is said to be, in some situations, not inferior to the former. The mangosteen has not hitherto been transported out of its native country, though, from the resemblance of its rind to that of the orange, or rather that of the pomegranate, there is a possibility that it could, if taken before it were altogether ripe, be removed to a distance; and thus, as it has been found in the British possessions on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, it may find its way to the shores of India, and ultimately to those of Europe.

The DURIUM (*durio zebethinus*) is a sin-

gular fruit. It is both worse and better than the mangosteen—worse, in respect of its appearance, being externally rough and unpromising in the extreme, and of its odour, which is particularly rank and offensive. Putrid eggs and onions, the washings of a gun,—all sorts of smells, that are more than usually rank and offensive, have been cited as illustrations of the odour of the durion; and, to complete the parallel, the fruit itself becomes sooner putrid than almost any other vegetable with which we are acquainted—twenty-four hours after being pulled it begins to rot, in which state it is more offensive to the olfactory nerves than ever. Still, when the Tavoy district was in the hands of the Burmese, the durion was carried thence to Amarapoora, the capital, a distance of more than six hundred miles, as a chosen luxury for the sovereign, though it must have then been in a state of decay.

And those who have tasted the durion confess, that the wholesomeness, the exquisite flavour, and the nutritious qualities of the fruit, soon made them forget the odour of the fruit itself, and that which it communicates to the breath. The exquisite part of the fruit is a pulp, of a pure white colour, and about the consistency of cream, in which, odour excepted, the very choicest qualities of animal and vegetable ali-

ment—of the most nutritious food, and the most cooling drink, are so blended together, that it is difficult to say which predominates; and all the arts of cookery would be exerted in vain to produce an imitation of the durion. It is turtle and champaign, eapon and ieed pine, all blended together, with some unknown ingredient added, which not only gives a zest but a medicinal virtue to the whole. The durion, different from almost all delicious viands, never palls upon the appetite; and, instead of injuring the digestion, it restores the tone of disordered stomachs.

The tree which produces this choise and singular fruit is not, in habit, unlike a pear-tree, only the leaves, which are entire at the edges, more resemble in shape those of the cherry. The flowers are large, contain a number of filaments, and are of a yellowish colour. When young the fruit is not unlike the chesnut in appearance, only it is covered with pointed scales, instead of spines. As it swells it attains the size of a man's head; and but that the tubercles have still the appearance of pointed scales, it has a considerable resemblance to the bread-fruit. When it is allowed to remain too long upon the tree, the sealy crust bursts at the crown, the pulp putrifies, and the seeds drop to the ground. Those seeds are contained in



four cells, in each of which there is usually several seeds, and these are embedded in the pulp. Those seeds, when roasted, may be eaten; but they have none of the exquisite qualities of the pulp in which they are embedded. They have some resemblance to chesnuts; but they have also a peculiar flavour, intermediate between turpentine and camphor; and though they have not the delicious taste of the pulp, they have the repelling odour. It is by no means improbable that those who have given such very unfavourable accounts of the durion, have judged of it only from the seeds.

The BREAD-FRUIT, in both the species, is found in India: those species are the true bread-fruit (*artocarpus incisa*), and the jacca, or jack fruit (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The first has the leaves divided into lobes, and the latter has them entire, as the names import.

The bread-fruit, as is the case with some of the other showy productions of the tropical countries, which, though they yield but a very coarse food, are attractive, and, therefore sought after by men in the early stages of society, appears to have acquired a celebrity to which its qualities do not entitle it. It is not very much relished in India, though both it and its compeer the jacca, which grows more freely in that country, may be eaten. It is not, however,

deemed worthy of a place in the culture of a country where so much labour is required, unless where the trees are made use of to support pepper, or some other more valuable crop. The experiment of introducing it into the West Indies has, notwithstanding all the labour and peril at which it was effected, turned out to be little better than a failure ; and one cannot help looking upon it as, in fact, a parallel case with the attempts that are occasionally made, even at this day, to foist the coarse and husky Indian corn upon the simple of this country, as a substitute for the ordinary grain, even though, besides its comparative worthlessness, it be not adapted to the climate, and the proper ripening of it must be accidental more than any thing else. It is a remarkable fact in the history of cultivation that, notwithstanding the differences of climate, the more civilized have never borrowed much from those that have been less so. The potato is understood to have been brought from the table land of Mexico, or the plains of the Andes ; but there is no trace of our having got it from the natives ; neither has there been the smallest wish in Europe to introduce into culture the cassava (*jatropha manihot*), from which the natives of that part of the world derive their bread, such as it is.

The BANANA, or the PLANTAIN, is a more eligible fruit for Indian culture, though, in point of quality, they (or that, for it is not absolutely settled by the schoolmen whether they be the same or not) have apparently been overpraised.

The banana (including under that name both of the species or varieties) is, however, one of the most productive of vegetable substances. It has a sort of perennial creeping root, and the fruit is produced upon annual stems, which rise to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. These throw out at the top a plume of very large leaves, at least six feet long, and two in width, with a very strong rib in the middle; but the rest of the leaf, which consists of straight fibres issuing from the mid-rib at nearly right angles, are easily torn, even by the wind. The spike of flowers issues from the centre of the leaves, inclosed in a sheath, after the manner of the palms, and attains a height of four or five feet. The fruits are very numerous, and sweetish, but rather insipid. The fruits ripen in about eleven months after the sucker of the banana is planted; and if the stalks upon which the fruits have ripened be cut down, the suckers soon bear again. A single stalk produces more than one hundred and fifty bananas, and each, upon an average, weighs nearly half a pound. Each

stalk requires a square of about five feet in the side; so that an acre would produce more than eighty thousand pounds of bananas. The banana is said to be of better quality in India than in tropical America, though, in the latter, it is probably much more productive, and certainly forms a much greater portion of the subsistence of the people.

The TAMARIND is, in its leaf, its pod, and its general habit, a good deal similar to the acacia tribe, though it be very different in its botanical characters. It grows readily on the slopes and at the bottom of the Western Ghauts, in those places where the salt water does not come; and though, perhaps, the pods are not quite so succulent as those in the West Indies, they are much larger, and the acid juice is an important addition to the other fruits of the country.

But of the fruits of India, indigenous and imported, (and the country has been so often visited by foreigners, that it is not easy to say what is really indigenous, and what not,) there is absolutely no end. The pine-apple, the guana, the orange family (of which those produced in the Silhet district of Bengal, are excellent); the papaw, with its habit something like the palm, and its fruit as large as a moderately-sized melon; the Otaheite apple; the

pillaw, with its bags of nuts, each bag weighing more than twenty pounds; the carambole, with its juicy berries, resembling those of the grape; and, in short, almost every tropical fruit that can be named, may be met with in India.

Of fruits that have been domesticated in Europe, the most abundant are the grape, the fig, and the mulberry, though plums and apples are also met with; and, as the mountains are ascended, almost every variety of fruit that is found in the coldest parts of the northern hemisphere. We must, however, close our notice of the natural garden of India, (and much of it is a natural garden); and we feel that we cannot do better than close it by the following quotation from Aikin:—"The *hibiscus ficulneus* is remarkable by its magnitude, and the profusion of its elegant blossoms, and is of peculiar value in a tropical climate, as hardly any insects are found under its shade. The cotton tree rises with a thorny trunk, eighteen feet in circumference, to the height of fifty feet without a branch; it then throws out numerous boughs, which are adorned, in the rainy season, with purple blossoms, as large as the open hand, and these are surrounded by capsula, filled with a fine kind of cotton. The *nyctanthes hirsuta*, and the *jas-*

*minum grandiflorum*, boast of the most fragrant blossoms of the whole East, the former perfuming the night, and the latter scenting the day. The *gloriosa superba*, and Indian vine, form, by their union, bowers worthy of Paradise."

The cultivated vegetables of India, that form the wealth of the country, will be noticed with more propriety when we come to speak of the modes of their culture. But, in the mean time, we may observe, that they are in no country more numerous, in each of the two important divisions of supplying food, clothing and substances available in the arts.

Besides rice, millet, and the grains of Europe, with varieties that are not known in European culture, the number of podded plants, which might be called beans, peas, and vetches, which the Indians cultivate for food, are very numerous; and the whole find sustenance for the immense population, at a much cheaper rate than the people are fed by the produce of artificial culture in any other country.

Of the plants which are reared for clothing, the cotton claims the first place, as the universal covering of the great body of the people, and as having been celebrated for the perfection which it had arrived at, at a very early age. Next, perhaps, may be ranked the mulberry



tree, which, though it does not immediately produce the silk of India, yet is the chief food of the insects by which that substance is formed. Flax and hemp are both grown in India; but where cotton is so abundant, so much better adapted to the climate, and so well manufactured, these are to be considered rather as plants cultivated for the other products that they yield, such as oil from both, and an intoxicating liquor from the hemp, than as materials for clothing. Even for cordage, hemp is not very much used by the natives of India, as the *coire*, or fibres, of the cocoa-nut, are obtained with less labour, and are more durable. In times when the ports of the Baltic have been shut against this country, the *sunu* hemp of India has, however, been found to be both a cheap and a valuable article of import. Its great length renders it not well fitted for being spun by machinery, the grand source of modern cheapness in the hemp and linen manufactures of Britain; but it is very strong, and of no inconsiderable value.

Of the substances afforded by the plants of India, perhaps, the most valuable are the oils. They would be valuable in any country; but they are peculiarly valuable among a people, the prejudices of whose religion prevent them from availing themselves of the tallow of cattle.

One of the most valuable sources of vegetable oil is the sweet *ponna* tree (*calophyllum inophyllum*), which is a stately forest tree, attaining an elevation of nearly one hundred feet, and a diameter of more than three. It is also a beautiful tree, and the flowers have an agreeable scent. Wherever the *ponna* tree is found, the common lamp oil of the country is manufactured from the seeds. The place where it is obtained in the greatest abundance is on the Malabar coast—that garden of the choicest botany, more especially of the trees of India. When the *ponna* is not met with, there is a substitute in the common castor-oil tree (*ricinus communis*), which is more generally diffused over the country, being found on the table land of Mysore, and also in many parts of the Valley of the Ganges. When the castor-oil tree fails, in consequence of the increased cold of the climate, there are still substitutes. Upon the hills which separate the Kumaon district of Delhi from the low ground, there grows a tree, which supplies a thick oil, having the consistency of tallow, or lard, and which answers for burning. This tree, which the natives call *phutwarrah*, grows to a considerable size, attaining a height of fifty feet, and a diameter of two. It produces abundance of nuts; and it is from the kernels of these nuts,

that the fatty substance is obtained. Wherever the pine is found, it abounds with turpentine; and though that be not extracted for any useful purpose, the timber is, generally speaking, straight and durable; and the part toward the pith, highly inflammable. It is rather a singular coincidence, that the candle of the peasantry on the hills to the south of Cachmere, and that of those of some parts of the high lands of Scotland and of Ireland should be the same—namely, a slip of the central part of a pine; and the only thing wanting to render the coincidence perfect, is, that the candle of the Scots and the Irish is ancient, and dug out of the bog, while that of the Indian is recent. The herbaceous oil plants, such as flax and mustard, as well as those that are raised for the sake of more pungent or aromatic oils, fall more naturally within the description of Hindû industry.

The same is the case with many of the drugs and dye-stuffs. We have already mentioned some of the gums, and incidentally also the opium, and cardamoms, which are used in the *materia medica*, as well as in the culinary art. Of the vegetable substances, from which dyes are procured, by far the most valuable are the madder and indigo plants; and both of them form exclusive articles both of cultivation and of commerce.

What has been stated in this chapter has no pretensions to be considered as even a list of the vegetables of India: it is merely a specimen, from which those who have not studied the subject, may form some idea of the capabilities of India, as a forest, a field, an orchard, and a garden; and that, taken in combination with what has been sketched in the former chapters, may, perhaps, prove another step in the process by which the general value of the country may be estimated, with due regard to truth, brevity, and perspicuity.

## CHAPTER XI.

## ZOOLOGY.



TIGER AND ELEPHANT.

THE animals of India, though very numerous, and many of them of the most interesting classes, have been so often and so minutely described, both in their individual

characters, and accompanied by the scenery in which they have their natural habitations, that little more will be demanded of us than a line or two, more for the purpose of completing the physical sketch of the country, than for any specific information that we can, in the brief space to which we must confine the subject, be supposed to convey.

The paucity of animal remains in the soil of India, has already been noticed; and the permanent nature of the country, free as it seems always to have been from the action of volcanoes, together with the decomposing powers of the atmosphere, have been hinted at as the grounds upon which this want of animal remains may be most satisfactorily accounted for. But, if we had space in which to follow up the subject, we should find in this absence of organic relics in India, some light thrown upon their occurrence in other parts of the world. If the deposits of those remains that we meet with in so many other countries, had been made by any general convulsion which had affected the whole globe, or anterior to any general formation of strata upon its surface, it is by no means easy to see how India should have escaped; or why, when other countries exhibit so many traces of having undergone partial revolutions since they were the habitations



tions of animal life, and so many kinds of strata, which, as the scorner says, embroil theorists in a mental contest as to whether the several countries have been “roasted or boiled for the use of their inhabitants,”—the greater part of India should show nothing but the granitic formation, and those schistose strata, which are generally held to be the first decompositions of granite. As India is formed of what they term the first or primitive rock, there is no possibility of supposing that it is, as a country, in its general form, younger than any other part either of the eastern or the western continent. When we look at the granite table land south of the Krishna, and especially when we look at the vast ridge of the Himalaya, we are constrained to admit that these could not have been raised from the bed of the ocean at any time when the earth was inhabited by human beings, without all its inhabitants knowing and remembering the fact. If at an event comparatively so trifling as an eruption of Etna, or an earthquake at Lisbon or Calabria, the earth shook for nearly a quarter of its circumference, we may be well assured, that Mont Blanc and Chimborazo would have fallen flat had they been called upon to witness the uplifting of Mysore, and the birth of Dhawalagiri. But we cannot enter upon the train

which would lead from hence, curious and inviting though it be. Our business is with the animal life of India, such as we find it existing. In passing, we cannot, however, avoid noticing one peculiarity in the zoology of India,—or, if there is a parallel case, it is found only in Southern Africa :—India and Southern Africa (the last in an especial matter) chronicle upon their fronts as deep and decisive existence of the ravages of time, as any other region on the face of the earth. The debris in the Valley of the Ganges, the desert on the south of the Sutledj, the naked rocks of the table lands, the deep beds of the Godavery and the Krishna, and the ruins of the primitive strata upon the low land of the Carnatic, all tend to prove that India cannot be younger than Europe or Siberia. As for Southern Africa, again, it is the very type of ruin; the rocks are everywhere laid bare, and the rivers have cleft the earth almost to the level of the sea. Volcano there is none, either in the one country or in the other; the internal powers of the earth appear in both to be exhausted, and the surface is left to the mercy of the elements,—to the burning drought and the pelting rain of two extreme seasons, which, as it were, war with the earth and with each other.

Here a curious question arises in the natural history of those regions ; although it be one of which we cannot, for obvious reasons, (perhaps the most obvious reason to the reader will be our want of ability,) pause to discuss. But those who affect to be learned in the natural history of the earth, would do well to tell us, why India and Southern Africa have still their elephant and their rhinoceros, while those of the north of Asia, Europe, and America, are in their graves, and have been so from the earliest, aye, and before the earliest period of history ? If we were to judge from circumstances, and from that judgment infer that different parts of the land have been formed at different times, we should be inclined to reckon Africa and India the elder born ; and yet a species of living creature, apparently the most durable that nature has formed, remains in these, and has, from beyond the date of human memory, been extinct in the other. The bones, the entire animal preserved in ice, prevent any doubt about the fact ; and those remains show that they belonged to a race, more amply furnished with the means of defence and duration than the elephant of India or Africa. The tusks of the extinct elephant (*elephas primigenius*), which still form an article in the commerce of Siberia, are larger than those of the living

species; the grinders are also more powerful; and though the skeleton does not indicate greater length or height, it affords evidence of a thicker built, and, therefore, a stronger animal. Yet this stronger animal has perished in countries that have, for a long time, been in a state of progressive improvement; while the weaker remain where the elements display all their fury, and man, to have fertile fields, must wage continual war with the desert.

To give a description of the elephant would seem superfluous: man has been familiar with it from the remotest times; it has been the auxiliary of armies, the pride of princes, the servant of merchants, and one of the chief attractions of every menagerie. All sorts of persons, from the sage to the showman, have thus combined to set forth the appearance, the magnitude, and the sagacity, of the elephant, till, if the brute that roams the thick forests of India could it read, it would really not know its own history. From so many and so interested and ignorant sources, it would be vain to expect any thing either very true or very consistent; and probably the most wild and wretched romance in the circulating library is not a more wide caricature of human nature, than the majority of written accounts are of the elephant.

As the elephant is the largest, and, estimating

him as a mass in motion, the most powerful of land animals, there has been a great tendency to endow him with those superior attributes, which fancy, without regard to the facts, is so very apt to associate with mere magnitude. He has been styled the wisest and the most lofty-spirited of brutes, and his reasoning powers have been stated as more than matter of imputation. As to the reasoning, one fact is decisive: the elephants of the present day have no more understanding than they had in the time of Darius. As for the independence, again, it has just as little foundation: the elephant is at first tamed by fear and starvation; and his motions are directed by an iron hook, which his driver thrusts into his forehead to push him on, and into his ear to turn him aside. The story of their not breeding in confinement, from delicacy or haughtiness, or any other intellectual cause, is not true, as they have bred in that state both in ancient and modern times; and the cause of their doing it so seldom is physical—they are not sufficiently fed, and too hard worked. Even what is told of a sexual paroxysm taking place at a particular season annually, in male elephants, is not true; for in their native forests the elephants breed at all seasons; and it has been ascertained that the period of gestation

in the female is about twenty months and a half. The age to which they live has not been fully ascertained ; but there is reason to believe that it is not less than two hundred years. According to the observations that have been made, the maternal feelings of the elephant are very blunt.

But although the elephant,—when its history is divested of those fabulous exaggerations which have been heaped upon all the productions and phenomena of nature, and which still remain in those places where the pruning-knife of geometry, which has cleared the heavens of astrology, cannot be applied to the lopping of them off,—is not that miracle of wisdom which the multitude believe, it is still a very curious animal, and important both for its nature and its uses.

Living in forests where an animal of less volume and power could hardly make its way, and would not be safe from the carnivorous beasts with which those forests abound, the elephant is admirably fitted for its residence.

The form and covering of the elephant, are well fitted for enabling it to make its way through jungles and forests. Its head forms a battering ram ; and in order that the brain may not suffer pain from the concussion, the frontal sinuses are extended to two large cavities. The projections formed by those cavities, are probably one of the causes of that imaginary wisdom



which is imputed to the elephant, as they lead those who are not acquainted with its structure, to suppose that the cerebral mass is anteriorly very much developed. But the “sagacious facial line” has nothing to do with the brain of the elephant, that organ being remarkably small, not more than one twenty-third of that of the human subject, in proportion to the weight of both. And yet the senses of the animal are wonderfully acute. Of the sense of taste in animals, we know less than of any of the others; but the great partiality of the elephant for sugar canes, for the sake of which it leaves the forest, and ravages the cultivated fields, and its fondness for sweet things, show that it has a power of election in its eating. The sense of sight is very quick, though, from the position of the eyes, and the shortness and stiffness of the neck, it is limited in its range backwards, except near the ground. It sees the rider, or the load upon it, with difficulty, if at all. Its hearing is very acute, and thus it has a very great discrimination of sounds; and there have been instances of one once domesticated escaping, being taken again in the usual manner, and at once obeying its old keeper, though till then it had given no sign of ever having been in human training, or having the least knowledge of the snare in which it had been formerly caught. Indeed the prin-

cipal sagacity of the elephant seems to depend upon the power of following a certain sound with a certain act. An elephant, which was, some years ago, butchered in London, probably in consequence of ignorance on the part of those about it, listened to the voice of its keeper, even when it had been irritated and mortally wounded.

The sense of smell is very wonderful, and is no doubt the one by which the course of the animal is chiefly guided in those places where sight would be useless, and hearing of little more avail, on account of the rustling that itself must make. Thick as the hide of the elephant is, it is far from invulnerable. The insects of the jungles give it a great deal of annoyance, and put it to many shifts in order to get rid of them. Indeed, when left to itself, and where it has plenty of food and water, the hide of the elephant is soft; and it is dry and chapped in confinement, only because the animal does not get proper food, or enough of exercise to promote digestion. With the exception of the human hand, and the express organs of feeling in animals that have to grope for their way and their food, there are few organs in nature in which the sense of touch appears to be more acute and delicate than in the trunk of the ele-

phant, especially in that part of it which serves as a hand.

That organ is indeed the most singular part of the animal, and though, to those who are not in the habit of seeing elephants, or thinking on their native haunts and habits, it seems not a little uncouth; it is, to use an expression which is, perhaps, not very admissible, one of the most ingenious instruments in animal mechanics. Before we see it used, we are very apt to imagine that a cartilaginous tube is not the most promising tool of all work; and we would be very apt to propose a number of substitutes; but when we have seen it used, we would cast them all aside as inferior, and give the trunk back again.

The number of uses to which it can be applied is truly astonishing. It is a hand, of almost any power or grasp. It can pick up the smallest blade of grass, or it can rend off a large branch of a tree. It can even serve as two hands, a coil holding down the branch, and the forceps at the point pulling the leaves or the fruit. It can mow the short herbage like a scythe, and collecting the swathe, convey it in a bundle to the mouth; and it can pull the larger herbage by the roots, wash them in a stream, or beat the mud from them against the fore legs. Thus, in consequence of its being universal joint,

while hands and paws have joints only here and there, it can find its way through an opening of contrary flexures. It can draw water from a depth, and either convey it to the mouth, or wash the whole body with it. In this last operation, and also in smearing the skin over with wet mud, it is of great service against the insects. It can spout water, and also throw substances to a considerable distance, and is also used as a blow-pipe, and as an organ of sound. Standing firmly upon its legs, the elephant can command with its trunk a greater portion of surrounding space, and command it all more equally, than any other animal; and perhaps the elephant is the only animal that can act powerfully and over a considerable circle.

In the elephant, more especially in that variety which, in India, is denominated the Kûmareali, or princely species, the tusks form powerful weapons of defence. These project forward, and have a curvature upwards, while some of the other varieties have them short, and pointed down. The tusks of these are not nearly so large, however, or so fine ivory, as those of the African elephant, and they again are not so large as those of the extinct species. However the elephants of India may differ in their size, colour, and the form of their tusks, they appear to be all of the same species; and

to differ from the African ones in having the transverse ridges of enamel in the teeth smaller and more numerous, and a toe more upon each foot. The African elephant has four on the fore foot, and three on the hind ; that of India has five and four. There is a remarkable instance of the economy of nature in the teeth of the elephant ; the tusks are shed only once, on an average, about fifteen months after they are born ; but the grinders, the only other teeth, are renewed many times, as necessity may require ;—the hard food upon which the animals subsist, and the great quantity that they must masticate, wear away the surfaces of the teeth ; and they are supplied by others that grow farther backward in the jaw, and are pushed forward when the fangs of those that are no longer serviceable are absorbed. This renovation, probably, takes place a dozen of times in the course of a long life ; and though old elephants get stiff in the joints, there are no accounts of failure in their powers of mastication.

Notwithstanding its great strength, and the formidable weapons with which nature has furnished it, the elephant is a harmless, and even a retiring animal ; and, unless when alarmed for its own safety, it wages war upon no other living creature. The extensive and thick forests are its chief abode ; and the places

of India where it is most abundant are the moist forests in the south-east of Bengal, and some parts of the western Ghauts; but more especially the former. The forests on the Tipera hills, on the south of the Silhet district, have long been the place where the principal continental supply of elephants has been obtained; and there they are still numerous, being found in herds of about a hundred in number. They are, like many of the other animals that live entirely upon vegetables, gregarious; and the herd are generally found to follow the oldest pair as leaders, and to go readily wherever they lead the way. In their marches through those forests, tangled as they are with underwood, sight would be of little avail; and therefore their means of communication are scent and sound. Food, friends, and foes, appear to be detected with great certainty, and at a considerable distance by the former; and the latter also admits of considerable variety. An elephant has three cries. The one is rather clear and shrill—a trumpet note, produced wholly by the trunk, and emitted when the animal is in good humour, and all is safe. The second is a growl or groan, issuing from the mouth, and is the cry of hunger, or an intimation to the rest when one has come upon an abundant supply of food; the third sound is



loud as the roaring of the lion; and is the war cry by which the animal prefaces his own hostilities, or calls his associates to his aid. They are seldom found far from each other, unless in the case of males that are expatriated, as is the case with deer and some other animals; and those often quit the forest, and are caught by using three or four tame females as a decoy. Even alone, in these cases, the beasts of prey—even the tiger, notwithstanding his agility and strength—will hardly venture to attack the elephant. The male receives him on his tusks, tosses him into the air, and stands prepared to stamp his fatal foot upon him, the instant that he touches the ground. The female elephant has no tusks upon which to receive an enemy; but she has the art to fall upon him, and crush him by her weight.

In their native forests, where they are in herds, the elephants are invincible to all enemies, but man. If one gives an alarm, others hasten to the spot, and where they act in concert, the carnivorous animals keep their distance. In those places man is the only inhabitant of the earth by whom they can be subdued; and he owes his superiority chiefly to an element which the lower animals have never been able to engage in their service. Man, even in his most savage and uncultivated state, rubs one piece of

wood against another, till one or both be ignited ; he applies the match, so lighted, to a bundle of sticks, or to the reeds, brushwood, or grass, and the stoutest and most daring animals own his sway and shrink from this the symbol of his dominion. When we reflect on the power and the security which this single and simple operation of the lighting of a fire gives to man in those parts of the world that are infested by ferocious animals, we cannot help being struck at the vast superiority which the possession, even of the lowest degree of reason, has over the perfection of mere animal courage and strength.

What means were used by the ancients for the capture of elephants, we are not informed ; but the method now practised is not a little curious ; and, probably, it is the same that has been employed, upon a great scale, from time immemorial. A *keddah*, or trap, is formed in some place near to the forest which is the haunt of the elephants. This usually consists of three inclosures : the first of them is of considerable dimensions ; the second smaller ; and the third leads to a passage so narrow as that a large elephant cannot turn round in it ; and they are all very strongly formed of stakes and beams ; and the large ones, except at the entrances, are fortified by deep ditches. Those ditches are on

the inside, and the earth which is dug out of them forms a high bank, upon the top of which are the palisadoes. The principal entrance is so formed that it seems merely an opening through the bushes—a passage by which the huge animals may escape from that annoyance, by which they are driven into captivity.

To get the elephants into this keddah is a matter of nice management, as well on account of their power as of their timidity, and the acuteness of their hearing and smell. Men who are familiar with the forests, and know their haunts, are employed to find them out; and that being done, the herd is surrounded with a cordon of pickets, who open communications with each other, and keep fires constantly burning. As soon as the herd is surrounded, another inclosure is formed in advance toward the keddah. It is made smaller than the first, and formed only to a semicircle; and when that is done, the former pickets open out to both sides, till the two inclosures are united. The next step is to bring up the rear of the first inclosure, which is done by beating drums, shouting, waving fire-brands, and every other means by which animals that are so retiring as the elephant can be annoyed. Care must be taken, however, that the herd is not alarmed; for were that the case, it would dash through the

cordon, and not merely escape, but be fatal to the pickets. It is, therefore, urged on so gently as that it merely moves away from the noise, but continues to browse the leaves and twigs as it moves along. In this slow and cautious manner the elephants are brought forward till the entrance of the keddah forms part of the circle. When they are brought there, the noise toward the rear is redoubled, and the motion of the whole accelerated, till the leaders of the herd enter into the opening, which they do with some caution; but the moment that they have done it, they are followed by all the rest, upon which the opening is strongly barricaded, and fortified on the outside by a line of fire, which is also extended along the greater part of the inclosure, excepting towards the second one, that being the direction in which the herd is intended to be driven.

In passing them from this inclosure to the next one, it is necessary to use expedition, as they generally presume that there is danger, and sometimes break through every thing and escape. Accordingly, a constant display of noise, fire, and smoke, is kept up, by voices, drums, guns, flaming and crackling branches of green bamboos, and every device that can increase the effect. The animals take several turns round the first inclosure, with a view of

escaping ; but they are assailed at every point with demonstrations of fire, by which they are at length driven into the second inclosure, and that is shut upon them in the same way, and guarded by the same means. Around that the noise is redoubled, in order to urge them on to the third.

As that is usually much smaller than the others, and presents no opening by which they may escape, even to another place of confinement, the animals now find that they are completely in the snare, and their indignation knows no bounds. Their roarings drown the clamour by which they are surrounded, and they rush toward the ditch and the palisadoes in all directions, with so much impetus and fury, that hardly any contrivance of man would appear able to resist them. The people are, however, upon the alert, and their assault is stopped by the great enemy, fire. The contest is carried on till the animals are completely fatigued, and have recourse to a tank, or drain of water, which is prepared for the purpose in order to quench their thirst and lave their throbbing sides, which latter operation they perform by squirting the water all over them with their trunks. But, though exhausted, they are not yet subdued ; they growl and threaten, and often attempt to escape ; but the fire and the

clamour meet them whenever they approach the fence, and they subside into a sullen humour.

Their hunger is now worked upon; and though some food be given them, they may be considered as tantalized rather than fed. When they have been kept in this manner for a greater or less number of days, according to the humour which they evince, the bars that close up the narrow passage are withdrawn; food is thrown in by some men on a scaffold over the opening, and one of the elephants is tempted to enter. The door closes behind him, is instantly barricadoed against him, and there is no return. He cannot advance far, in consequence of bars that are put across a little in front of him, and he cannot turn round. He, therefore, tries the battering-ram—first, backwards, against the gate, in order that he may join his brethren; and then forward, against the bars. But as an elephant once brought thus far is reckoned a prize, and as it is known that the efforts which he will make for the regaining of his liberty will be pretty much in proportion to his value, the barriers are made proportionally strong, and he is left to exhaust himself in powerful, but unavailing, attacks upon the bars.

Strong nooses are at length thrown in, and as soon as one of them catches him by a foot, it



is made fast to the palisades, and the operation is continued till he be fairly moored. The mooring is farther secured by cross bars, thrust through the palisades; and then they proceed to bind him with a number of strong ropes,—his attention being engaged by teasing or by food all the time that the operation of tying is going on. When his fetters are judged to be strong enough, two cables are fastened to his collar, he is loosened from the palisades, and driven forward by two tame elephants that are trained to the work, and picketted with more or less severity according to his strength and temper, in order that his subjugation may be completed in solitude. When the tame ones are withdrawn, and he finds that he cannot accompany them, he becomes perfectly furious, and some are killed by their struggles; but starvation reduces the majority; and they soon resign their great strength to the pleasure and guidance of their pigmy masters. So great power has even a little intellect, aided by fire, an instrument that man alone can command, over mere animal strength, however admirable may be the mechanical structure in which that strength is contained. It is the fire that is the real instrument of the superiority. It is the badge of man; and in those lands where his person is the most uncouth, his powers the

least developed, and his condition the most miserable, smoke which rises on the beach is the most immediate and obvious criterion that the inhabitants are men, and not apes; and if any future zoologist shall revive the Linnæan arrangement, and class men and monkeys into one order, it were more in accordance with truth to discard the word *sapiens*, as the specific distinction of man, and substitute for it the epithet *ignigerens*.

The Indian elephant has sometimes, though rarely, been found measuring ten feet and a half in perpendicular height at the shoulder; and when of that size, their weight, in good condition, is more than five tons. Nine feet is the standard for male elephants, required for the service of the India company; and that may be about the average of those that are caught on the rich pastures near the sea. The females are in general about a foot lower than the males; and the size of both is so much inferior in the dry and hilly districts, that they are not much esteemed for carriage. A sized elephant can carry a load of nearly a ton, so that a loaded elephant is one of the heaviest carriages that move upon land. Its motion too is rather rapid, as it can travel about fifty miles in a day; but the pressure upon its feet is so great, that the rough and stony roads, which are common in

the hill districts of India are very hurtful to its feet. Otherwise it is remarkably sure footed,—more so, naturally, it is said, than the horse or the camel; and it has the advantage over them of being able, in cases of emergency, to hold on with the trunk. Upon level ground it stands out well; but ascents and descents are very fatiguing to it, as it has to lift, at least, four tons in the one case, and bear the shock of an equal weight in the other. From the natural antipathy that the elephant has to fire, it is no longer formidable in the ranks of battle, as the discharge of a pistol would send him scampering to the right-about; but he is very serviceable as a beast of burden, in a country where the roads are naturally bad, and, on account of the violence of the rains, kept in order with great difficulty. He is, however, only a beast of burden, and never employed for draught, though he assists in lifting guns, and other weighty articles, at of holes from which the bullocks that are used for draught cannot pull them.

The rhinoceros is more confined in its range than the elephant, being still fonder of water than even that animal. In clumsiness of figure, the rhinoceros exceeds the elephant, and it approaches that animal in the mass of its body; but as it is much shorter in the legs, it does not appear so large. In length it is about the same,

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BOOK 6

being twelve feet in the larger specimens ; but these do not stand above seven feet high. The skin of the rhinoceros is coarse, thick, and folded, and of a dull black colour ; but, instead of being impenetrable by weapons of hunters, as has often been said, it is delicate enough to be annoyed by the weapons of insects ; and as the animal has not the means of washing them off as the elephant does with its trunk, it has recourse to wallowing in the mud, and endeavouring to cover itself with a protecting coat of that substance.

The eyes of the rhinoceros are small, and its powers of vision far from acute ; and indeed, in the jungles and thickets which are its principal places of resort, vision is, comparatively, of little use to it. Hearing and scent are what it depends upon, and both of these senses are remarkably acute, more especially the scent, which renders it dangerous to approach it, unless against the wind. As is the case with the elephant (and indeed with the *pachydermata* of Cuvier generally), the organ of touch is the upper lip ; and though that does not resemble, in the list, the proboscis of the elephant, it is considerably elongated, and the animal uses it as a sort of hand for gathering food and conveying it to its mouth. The rhinoceros is much better furnished with teeth than the elephant, lying

twenty-eight grinders, and four cutting-teeth, so that it can cut and gnaw substances which are too hard and tough for being plucked by the prehensile upper lip. The inside of the mouth is remarkably firm, and the tongue, in the adult animal at least, beset with tubercles, so that it assists in swallowing. The food is wholly vegetable; and though, like the elephant, the rhinoceros shows some taste, and prefers the succulent vegetation of the cultivated fields, among which it commits great ravages when it sallies from its solitudes, it can browse upon the most hard and prickly vegetables.

The most singular thing about the rhinoceros is its horn (there are smaller species, or probably varieties, that have two), which differs from that of every other animal. It is inserted over the nasal bones, about equally distant between the nostrils and the eyes; and the bones at that part are remarkably strong, both from the volume of their substance and from their form, which places the horn as it were on the crown of a dome, and thus gives its base a maximum of strength.

The horn of the rhinoceros is a true horn, formed almost wholly of gelatine, like the ordinary hair, fur, feathers, and bristles of animals, and containing very little of those salts of lime that constitute the greater part of bone; and

it is not supported by a core of bone, like the horns of the ox tribe, but originates wholly in the skin, the part of the body in which all the corneous addenda of animals are secreted. It consists of a bundle of longitudinal fibres, and not of plates, like the hollow horns; and these fibres are often so worn and separated towards the base, that it has the appearance of being surrounded with coarse bristles.

This structure renders the horn of the rhinoceros, in many respects, a much more formidable weapon than the tusks of the elephant. It is much less frangible, living horn being very difficult to break against the fibres; and when it exerts a great strain, the pain to the animal is not nearly so great as if it had had its origin in a socket of bone, or had been supported by a core of that substance. It is formidable from its size, too, as it is often three feet in length, and more than six inches in diameter at the base. It has such a curvature upward, as that when it is horizontal, the whole force of the muscles that raise the head, can be exerted in giving it effect. Even when the rhinoceros stands at bay, the most daring animal dares not attack him in front. The mass of the animal, planted upon its strong short legs, with a broad forehead and three spreading toes at the base, offers a resistance which the shock of no beast of prey



could move; while, to the strongest of them, the gore of the horn would be instant death. If the animal should charge, which it can do at a tolerably rapid pace, the crush is dreadful; and when the elephant is assailed by his fellow-tenant of the forest, which is very seldom the case, except when the elephant bears a hunter on his back, he has no security but in flight; and if he cannot betake himself to that, he has no chance but to receive the shock on the least vital part of his body, and even then it dashes him to the ground.

But, notwithstanding all this power of defence and terribleness of attack, the rhinoceros does not seek strife, but leads an inoffensive, and comparatively indolent life in the jungle,—at peace even with the tiger, with whom he is often found in company, and towards whom he shows an indifference quite unknown to the elephant. Man has never brought him even into that partial subjection to which the elephant yields; the hunting of him is a mere sport, though a very dangerous one; and when he is taken alive, he is fit only for a show, in which condition, though he evinces some gratitude for food and kind treatment, his general character is sullenness, broken by occasional fits of violence.

Such are the two most remarkable subjects of

Indian zoology ; and, with the exception of Africa and the Indian isles, in the former of which the species, or, at all events, the varieties, are different, they are confined to India ; and, in the case of the rhinoceros, to a limited portion of that. They seem intended to keep down the exuberant vegetation of the districts alluded to, so that spots may be found that can be browsed by quadrupeds of humbler growth. The variety of these, and also of their destroyers, is very great. The wild animals in those places, are mostly deer, and antelopes of different kinds, with buffalos. The musk deer is found on the south of the Himalaya, but not equal in quality to that on the north. Wild hogs and boars are numerous in the jungles ; and there are various kinds of bears. In the mountains toward the south there is a black species, in considerable abundance ; but inoffensive, and living upon white ants and fruit ; and, on account of the numbers of the former that they destroy, they are benefactors to the people. To the east of the mouth of the Ganges, a more ferocious bear has been encountered, which differs from most of the genus, in having a short smooth covering, and the head formed something like that of a dog ; wolves, jackals, and hyænas abound ; and there are wild dogs of the cur species ; but whether they have

escaped from domestication, or are originally wild, has not been ascertained.

India is, indeed, redolent of all kinds of animal life, of the destroyers, as well as the destroyed; and teeth, folds, and poison, though exerted in a variety of ways, still find "the supply equal to the demand."

There is no satisfactory proof of the presence of the lion in India; and thus the king of the feline race there is the tiger—a more formidable animal certainly, taking all circumstances into consideration, than the lion of Africa. He is more numerous than the lion, more active, and comes more in contact with the habitations of men; and when those direful wars which the native rulers were in the habit of waging to desolation upon unfortunate districts, had done their work, it was astonishing how rapidly the jungles and the tigers reoccupied the country. The bound of the tiger, when he springs upon his prey, is tremendous, extending, as is said, to the distance of one hundred or one hundred and twenty feet; and independently of teeth and claws, the very impetus of such a mass of matter, flung to such a distance, would fell most animals to the earth. It is from this spring that the tiger gets his name: he, as it were, "shoots himself at his prey;" and *tiger*, in the Armenian language,

signifies the *arrow*, the name also given to the river Tigris, on account of its velocity: we believe that in some, if not in all, the native languages of India, the name of the tiger is *tippoo*.

It would be easy to fill volumes with tales of tigers, as we have them, *ad nauseum*, in most of the popular books, whether they happen to give us any more useful information or not; suffice it to say, that of all the beasts of prey the tiger is the most agile and daring—equal in strength to any other (for the lion and he have never joined in combat on a field native to them both)—the most abundant, and, therefore, the most destructive. Like all other wild beasts, the tiger is afraid of fire; but his appetite is so ravenous, that, if he be pressed with hunger, that is not a perfect security, unless there be a great deal of it. Minor animals of the feline race, such as panthers and leopards, are very numerous in India; and were it not that the tiger is so superior to them in the power of destruction, they would be accounted very formidable. In one respect some of them are more dangerous than the tiger—they follow their prey, and even climb trees after it.

Nowhere are the serpent tribe more formidable, either for their muscular strength or their poison, than in India. Of the writhing or

crushing snakes, of course the most formidable is the boa-constrictor, which some of the narrators represent as being forty feet long, and committing great havoc among quadrupeds, even those of considerable size. The moist and shaded parts of the country, especially on the west coast, and where there are ruins, swarm with snakes of all dimensions and colours, some of them poisonous and some not. In the passages of the Ghauts, during the rains, and so long as the ground remains moist, leeches are a great annoyance to the naked legs of the people, though, perhaps, not so much so as in the island of Ceylon. Bats are very numerous on the Malabar coast, and of large dimensions; the dark apartments of the old cave temples are filled with them. In such a country, insects are, of course, abundant, and some of them are very troublesome to the inhabitants. Wherever they are found, the white ants are the most destructive of insects. Those insects consume every thing indiscriminately, except metals and stone: and they approach to make their ravages in a covered passage, so that they are seldom seen. In the evening the earth is made radiant with the twinkle of glow-worms; and the fire-flies often so cover the trees that the whole is one mass of light, and the shaking of a bough produces nearly the same

effect, as the beating of a burning bush in other countries—it fills the air with sparks of fire.

The birds of India are equally remarkable for their number and for the beauty of their plumage. The radiant hues of the peacock still gild the thickets in all parts of the country, and they did so in the time of the Macedonian conqueror, who was so much charmed with their beauty that, under severe penalties, he forbade their destruction by his army. Among the groves and thickets on the Malabar coast, they are still very numerous; and are captured during the night, by a torch, and a painted canvas, containing an imitation of one of themselves. The parrot tribe are found in all their varieties of form and colour, and the ear is literally deafened by their noise. The birds of India are beset by many enemies, both in their own persons, and in the contents of their nests; and that leads to some of the most curious arts of nidification that are anywhere to be found among the feathered tribes. One of their greatest enemies is the tree snake, which can climb its way to any height, and suspend itself by a very slender support. To guard against that enemy, a little feathered inhabitant of the neighbourhood of Bombay,—a thing not much bigger than a cockchafer,—fixes its tiny nest to the pointed leaves of the palmyra palm,



which the snake cannot reach, and there rears its brood in safety. But of all the winged architects of India, or, perhaps, of any other country, the Indian grossbeak (*loxia philippina*) is one of the most ingenious. The bird is rather bigger than the one last mentioned. In bulk it exceeds the common sparrow of our gardens, and, therefore, its nest would weigh down the tip of a leaf till it came in contact with others, and, therefore, bring the treasure which that contained within reach of the enemy. To prevent this, it has recourse to a very ingenious contrivance. It builds in a variety of trees, but it prefers the Indian fig; and making choice of a very slender twig, it plaits a rope of grass and vegetable fibres, at least a foot and a half long, and to the end of that it fastens its snug and very ingeniously constructed nest. Externally that nest is formed of the same materials as the cord by which it is suspended, and plaited in the manner of a basket. Internally it differs from most nests, in containing a suite of three apartments, which are partially separated from each other, and yet have one common entrance and a communication with each other. The first apartment is for the male, who keeps watch there, while the female is performing her incubation, and as his beak is powerful in proportion to his size, he

offers a bold defence against ordinary winged foes, while the rope by which the nest is suspended is a sufficient protection against the snake. The second apartment is for the female; and the third, and most secure, for the young. This nest is, in itself, abundantly ingenious, but those who are fond of heightening nature with their own fancies, render it a good deal more so. The male has, generally, a light in his apartment; and thus it is easy for fancy to endow him with the lantern as well as the vigilance of a watchman. In one corner of his apartment there is generally a little bit of moist clay, upon which there are fastened one or more glow-worms, which partially illuminate the little apartment. These insects use them in preference to any others, simply because their light betrays them, and they can be caught in the twilight, and they are a supply of food for the young grossbeaks in the nursery behind; but there are, in all departments of natural history, more violent and improbable strainings of the fact than the supposition that they are placed there for the purpose of giving light; and certainly there would be something very wonderful in a bird lighting up its apartment, as it would be an instance without a parallel in animal history.

Besides the peacocks, already mentioned, the jungles of India abound with large gallinaceous

birds, of which the most numerous and valuable is the jungle-fowl, or Indian cock, (*gallus Indicus*), which, though the fact of their identity has not been ascertained, is sometimes supposed to be the origin of the common domestic breed.

One of the most remarkable, and even useful birds, though a bird of passage, and not used as food, is the gigantic stork, (*ciconia argala*). It makes its appearance in large flocks during the rains, and, though an ugly bird, it is welcomed as a scavenger. This bird is of very large dimensions. The wings have an extension of nearly fifteen feet; the whole length is between six and seven feet; and it stands more than five feet in height. The colour on the back is an ashen grey, and that on the under part, a dirty white. The gape is immense, and the craw, which appears very prominent on an outside view, and is very large, is covered only with a thin down. Its food is reptiles, fishes, and carrion; the quantity which it can swallow is enormous; and it is on that account that it is useful, as it destroys those noxious creatures, which, otherwise, would be an intolerable nuisance in the houses, and consumes those decaying substances which, but for it, would pollute the atmosphere. In consequence of the services which it thus renders, this giant bird, under

the name of the *adjutant*, perches upon the house tops, or marches about the public places undisturbed.

The ass is not much used as a beast of burthen in India, but numbers of them are found wild upon the plains and borders of the salt marshes, in Ajmeer and Gujerat. The ass, indeed, is under greater odium in India, than in any other country. No Hindû but those of the very lowest castes, will ride upon one of those unclean animals, or even employ it in the meanest service; and the place where it is killed, or its dead body cast, is looked upon with still greater horror than that which is polluted by the remains of the sacred cow. In Mysore, a dead ass is made use of for the purpose of driving away any one who may have given offence, though he who slays the ass must flee from the pollution, the same as he against whom it is slain.

The camel is most used in the countries on the north-west of the desert, or in travelling thence to the countries on the Jumnah. In the Punjaub they are particularly abundant; and long files may constantly be seen, carrying rock salt in great blocks from the mines near Lahore. In the mountains of that part of India, the two-humped camel is found in a wild state.

The genus *bos* are the animals used for draught all over India. They are very numerous, and of several species and varieties. The native or sacred cattle of the country, are the zebua, which are white, with a hump on the neck, and though but small and light, they answer well for the draught. The common black cattle, and the buffalo, are stronger and more prized by Europeans.

The native breed of horses are so small that they more properly fall within the class of poneys; and are sometimes not more than two feet and a half in height. They are strong in proportion to their size, but they are ill-formed and vicious. The horses that are bred in the mountain districts are larger and more serviceable, and some of them (especially those from Nepâl) are singularly mottled with a variety of colours. The breed in the Deccan is much better; but they are not equal to those which are now raised by the British in the Valley of the Ganges, and from which the breed all over the country promises soon to be improved, as they begin to be sought for with avidity by the natives.

The sheep of India are in considerable numbers; but they are of little or no worth. They are, in general, lean, and the wool, or rather hair, with which they are covered, is of

comparatively little value ; but in a country where cotton is so abundant, and forms so exclusively the scanty clothing of the native population, that is a matter of minor importance. In the warm climate of India, indeed, that species of animal covering which is best adapted for the finer productions of the loom, would be highly inconvenient for the animal, and, accordingly, it is not found.

When the great ridge of the Himalaya is passed northwards, the climate is wholly different, and the wild animals have an abundance of covering. One of the chief inhabitants of the elevated parts of the mountains, where the changes of temperature are in excess, and where a maximum of animal clothing is, in consequence, required, is the musk animal. From its belonging to the ruminating order of animals, this has been called the musk deer ; but in appearance, and also in size, it more resembles a hog, only the limbs are much more delicate. Its covering is well adapted to the places which it inhabits, —sticking out all over it, to the length of about three inches, and being of a consistency which water can hardly injure. As is the case with some other species of ruminating animals in that part of the world, the tusks of the upper jaw are curved, and project a considerable way outside the under one. The perfume is



secreted by a peculiar gland under the abdomen, and is found only in the male. From the great estimation in which this perfume is held, the musk animal is accounted royal property, and can be hunted only by royal permission.

The larger animals on the north of the Himalaya are often provided with two sorts of covering—a long hair for throwing off the rain and snow, and a short one for warmth. It is of this secondary, or short fur, on the goat, that the celebrated shawls of Cachmere are made; and, probably, the under fur of the cow in those mountains, which is of a similar texture, might be used for the same purpose. The shawl goats are but little creatures, less than the smallest breed of sheep in Britain. They are of various colours, but in general have those somewhat resembling the deer. As the impenetrability of their double coat fits them only for a climate that is permanently severe, it has been found impossible to rear them on the south side of the Himalaya. Were it possible to transport the breed there, it is by no means improbable that they might thrive on the mountains of Norway, or even in the higher valleys among the Grampians.

Such are a few of the land animals of India; and, from their numbers, it may easily be in-

ferred that the waters are equally prolific. On the muddy shores, as that at Chittagong, and at Cochin, oysters are abundant ; and there are plenty of fish in most of the seas, and in many of the rivers. The mango fish of the Ganges is in high esteem at Calcutta ; and the carp of many of the mountain streams, especially of the Alacananda branch of the Ganges, are equally prized for their size, beauty, and flavour.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE OUT-SETTLEMENTS.

THE preceding chapters of this volume contain all the notice which, in the limits within which this little work must be confined, can be given of the physical character of continental India. In many cases these may seem to be but mere hints ; but they will serve to furnish those who are not particularly interested in the country with a general notion of it, and may be of some use as a preliminary index to those who may have the desire or the occasion to study it more in detail.

To render this part of the subject the more complete, it will be proper to notice those

points, unconnected with continental India, upon which the British power has taken hold, and then we shall be enabled to enter upon the examination of human nature, and its history, in India, with the whole of the preliminary matter before us.

During the late war, and even since its close, the out-settlements in the Indian seas were more numerous than they are now—those in the island of Sumatra having, in 1825, been exchanged with the King of the Netherlands for some, formerly Dutch possessions, on the main land of India. Those that now remain are Ceylon, Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, the Andamans, and Macao, in China; though the Andamans have been visited and claimed rather than settled, and the only footing that the East India Company have in China, is a toleration to trade, under strict and particular regulations.

#### CEYLON.

Ceylon, whether we regard its position, its extent, its appearance, or its productions, is a very important portion of the earth's surface; and, like India, it has had its name and its fame from the earliest dawn of history. The early

history, however, whether as stated by the chroniclers of the west or the east, is unsatisfactory; and whether we take the few hints that are contained in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, or the more detailed, but more ridiculous fable of the overthrow of Ravan, its ferocious monarch, by Rama, the rajah of Oude, assisted by his army of monkeys, led on by Hanuman, the wisest and most valorous four-handed inhabitant of the forest, who won almost as much godship in the enterprize as Rama himself, and made the whole monkey tribe kindred to the gods, we find equally little satisfaction—nor can we come to any other conclusion, than that such an island had been heard of, both in Hindûstan, and in the west, ere the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian seas. The name from which the modern one is formed is *Singhala*, the country of lions, which may have been intended as descriptive of the disposition of the people, as the lion has not been met with upon it, at least in modern times.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, the fertile and tempting shores of Ceylon were visited by hostile Arabs; and it was under the specious pretext of assisting the native prince against these, that Almeida obtained that en-

couragement and tribute which were the foundations of Portuguese power in the island. This took place in 1505. About a century after, the Dutch made their appearance on the coast, and entered into the same agreement for the expulsion of the Portuguese that these had done for that of the Arabs, and succeeded, after a contest of about fifty years. These held their sway in a manner even more tyrannical than their predecessors, until, in 1796, their dominion gave place to that of the British, and the king found, somewhat too late, that each of his foreign visitors was more powerful than the former; and, ultimately, after a good deal of war, in which, however, the country and the climate were more formidable than the troops of the native powers, the whole island became, in 1809, a British colony, not under the East India Company, but under the crown, and thus having its ports and commerce open to the whole British people. This circumstance takes Ceylon out of the India question, because the possession of it would not be affected by the fate of the Company's charter.

Ceylon is nearly in the shape of a pear, having the length north and south, and the larger end toward the south. Its limits, from north to south, are from  $5^{\circ} 56'$  to  $9^{\circ} 46'$  north



latitude; so that the length is about two hundred and seventy miles. The limits from west to east are from  $79^{\circ} 36'$  to  $81^{\circ} 58'$ , so that the greatest breadth is about one hundred and fifty miles; but the average is not much more than one hundred. Ceylon is about sixty or seventy miles from the nearest point of the Coromandel coast, which is a long, low point of sand, on the south side of the river Vaygaroo. From the termination of this point, all the way to the coast of Ceylon, there is a succession of banks and shoals, known by the name of Adam's Bridge, because the natives, who believe that their island was Paradise, describe these as the footsteps of the first man, when, after the fall, he escaped thence to the continent. The sea, to the southward of this chain of shoals, gets the name of the Manaar passage, from an island of that name at the termination of the chain upon the coast of Ceylon. The passage on the north, which is toward the Ceylon side, is also much broken by islands, and also by points of low but fertile land, much intersected by the sea, upon one of which the town and fort of Jaffnapatam are situated.

The shores of Ceylon are in general low and sandy, and in many places broken by lagoons, which usually have their length parallel to the

coast; but there is hardly any thing that can be considered as a bay, except that of Trincomalee, on the north-east coast, and the country around that is both barren and unwholesome. The bay is, however, valuable as a convenient and safe retreat for the shipping, when driven, as it annually is, both from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, by the violence of the south-west monsoon. Though, generally speaking, the coasts be sandy, they are interspersed with rocks, and abound with cocoa-nut trees, and other palms, which afford vegetation and shade almost to the very verge of the sea. As is generally the case in tropical countries, the interior backs of those flat shores, where the central slopes and elevations begin, are covered with jungles, and remarkable for the insalubrity of their climate.

The surface of the inland parts is very much diversified. Hills rise over each other in successive ridges,—some of them clothed with the most rich and beautiful vegetation, and others exhibiting the most wild and abrupt precipices. In the interior, the mountains rise in chains, some of the plains and slopes have an elevation of from four thousand to five thousand feet above the level of the sea; and Adam's Peak, the highest summit in the island, has a height of

more than six thousand. This most lofty of the summits is in the south part of the island, and the country there is, generally speaking, the most elevated. The city of Candy, formerly the capital of the Cingalese kingdom, and situated near the centre of the island, has an elevation of nearly one thousand five hundred feet; and enjoys a climate which, notwithstanding its being so much nearer the equator, is temperate as compared with that of Bengal; and the more elevated parts of the island have, of course, a still more temperate atmosphere.

The appearance of those inland parts of Ceylon is very much diversified: some are covered by thick and almost impenetrable forests; others are open, verdant with herbage, and enamelled with flowers; and others, again, wild with rocks. There is a natural barrier of jungle between the coast and the interior, which more completely separates the two than if it were an equal breadth of water; and this jungle is, throughout its whole extent, unhealthy. While the Portuguese and Dutch had possession of the island, and till the final subjugation of the kingdom of Candy by the British arms, this formed the separation between the two powers, whose countries, though within a very

short distance of each other, had very different characters.

There are no lakes among the mountains of Ceylon; and the rivers, generally speaking, are small, and have their courses from the mountains to the nearest sea. To this, however, there is one exception—the river Mahavelly, which rises on the north side of Adam's Peak, has a course of about thirty-five miles direct north to the city of Candy, near which it passes over a ledge of rocks; thence it bends to the eastward for about thirty-five miles; after which it flows north to the sea over about seventy miles more; and it empties itself by three principal mouths, (two of which enter the Bay of Trincomalee) after a course of about one hundred and fifty miles. This river is navigable, partially at least, to Candy, or more than one hundred miles from the sea, including the windings; but below Candy, it passes through thick jungles, and between wild rocky mountains. Another small river, the Calany, rises in the west side of Adam's Peak, traverses the celebrated cinnamon district, and falls into the sea at Columbo; but it is navigable only for barges, and that only during the rains. Most of the other streams can be ascended only ten or twelve miles, and the

entrances to them are in general choked up by trees and banks, so that, in point of inland navigation, Ceylon has not much to boast of.

From what has been said of the general character of the coast, it will also be easily imagined that there cannot be many good harbours there. Trincomalee is, in fact, the only one which is worthy of the name. Jaffnapatam (Jaffna is the name of the tongue of land on which it is built, and which is an island or peninsula, according to the season) is a fertile situation; and from the constant play of the sea breezes over it, it is healthy; but it can be approached only by boats, and the adjoining sea is shallow and full of banks. This part of the island is very rich in tropical productions—rice, fruits and tobacco; but the seeds of European vegetables soon degenerate, and the potato, which has been found a valuable addition to the agricultural produce of some parts of India, has not been found to answer.

For a part of the distance between Jaffnapatam and Manaar, it is not very easy to say whether the country is sea or land. The surface is water; but it is in general so shallow, and the bottom under it so firm, that it can be walked over. Still farther south, on the coast opposite to Coromandel, there is a singular peninsula, Calpenteen, which lies parallel to the

shore, from which it is divided by a very narrow portion of water, which extends from the isthmus, at the south end, between sixty and seventy miles. This peninsula, though sandy, is thickly covered with cocoa-nut trees and palmira palms; and the country on the other side of the bay, or, rather, natural ditch, is very rich and beautiful. This curious peninsula extends south as far as Chilaw, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles from Jaffnapatam; and along the whole of that line of coast, no mountains are visible from the sea—verdant woods forming everywhere the boundary of the horizon.

After passing Chilaw southward, the mountains begin to make their appearance, while the coast retains its beauty, and indeed gets more luxuriant in appearance as Columbo is approached. At Negumbo, about forty miles to the north of Columbo, the cinnamon country begins, and it extends to a considerable distance south of that city. Columbo is a very beautiful place, with proper attention to avoiding the direct action of the sun, very healthy, and it contains a number of inhabitants. The city itself is nearly insulated by water, but the land immediately across the lake is the most rich and picturesque that can be imagined. Small vessels only can approach the shore at



Columbo, and while the south-west monsoon blows, ships cannot ride in the roadstead, but must either leave the island altogether, or pass round to Trincomalee. For everything that can make the earth delightful and desirable, it is hardly possible to imagine a place superior to the neighbourhood of Columbo; but on the peninsula the water is brackish.

South from Columbo the cocoa-nut trees get still more plentiful, and the formation of cables of the fibres is one of the staple manufactures of some of the villages on the coast. This richness and beauty continue along the whole of the south-west and south; and there is then the advantage of at least a tolerable harbour at Point de Galle, a few miles west of the southmost part. The province of Matura, in the extreme south, is also celebrated for its scenery, the groves and thickets there alternating much more with open glades than in other parts of the island. Don-dra Head, the southmost part of the island, lies a few miles to the east of the little town of Matura; and a few miles inland, there is a single block of stone (Mulgurelenna) three hundred feet in height, with a flight of five hundred and forty-five steps, of great antiquity, winding to the summit, which is crowned with a tomb, or temple, of Bûdha, in the shape of a bell.

After passing the south point, the character of the coast changes much for the worse. It is unhealthy, covered with wood, broken by salt marshes, and infested with wild beasts. Even this country, were it properly cleared, would be very fertile, and probably much improved in point of healthiness; but in its present state, neither cultivated plants nor domestic animals are safe, the elephants attacking the former, and the beasts of prey the latter. This general character of the coast continues all the way to Trincomalee; and thence to Jaffnapatam it partakes of the character of the coast immediately to the south of that settlement. The interior, where not completely overrun by forest or jungle, combines the greatest fertility with high picturesque beauty; but the great inequalities of the surface, and the frequent succession of tangled forest, render the traversing of it a work of much labour; and wild animals and large snakes are so numerous, that it is also a work of considerable hazard. In many of the valleys the wet husbandry (the particulars of which will be noticed in a future chapter) is carried on, and artificial tanks are constructed for that purpose, though they are by no means so indispensable as in the comparatively parched country of India,—more especially the part immediately adjacent to Ceylon.

A mere glance at the position of Ceylon upon the map, taken in conjunction with the fact that the central parts are high, and bearing in mind the direction of the monsoons, would immediately lead to the conclusion that the climate is moist, and that the west side should be superior to the east. The south-west monsoon begins early in April, and blows till November, or at least till the middle of October. During the first part of this monsoon, the rain is very heavy, both on the west coast and among the mountains; but only partial showers extend to the east coast, though the wind extends over the whole island. Generally, the rains upon the west coast of Ceylon are neither so heavy, nor accompanied with so violent winds or thunder storms, as those upon the Malabar coast of India; but they have been sometimes so great at Columbo, that more than three inches have fallen in the space of twelve hours; and occasionally there are dreadful hurricanes, accompanied by rain and hail, on the south part of the east side. The northern part of that side often has the atmosphere without a cloud, and a very high temperature, while the rain is falling copiously upon the west coast, and among the mountains. The descent of water from the eastern slopes of those, its being arrested by the jungles at their base, and the consequent

evaporation impregnated with miasmata, seem to be, as is the case in the jungle of the Terriana, on the north-east side of the plain of the Ganges, the chief causes of the insalubrity of that coast of the island.

The rains on the east and north-east come with the north-east monsoon, which lasts from November to March, and the rains are very heavy in December and January, while there, the remainder of the year is comparatively dry. This monsoon also extends to the mountains, so that showers fall there for the greater part of the year ; but on the southern part of the west side it is not long or severely felt. Even there, however, the sea and land breezes are apt, from the vicinity of the high mountains to the sea, to bring occasional showers, so that the west coast invariably looks fresh and green. The great extent of sea on both sides, in the direction of the monsoons, and the elevated and varied character of the surface, tend to soften the extremes of the climate of Ceylon, as compared with that of India.

The great mass of the Ceylon rock is of the primitive formation, granite or gniess, intersected by veins of other rock, but without any trace of volcanoes. The rocks along the shores are in general sand-stone ; but in the low districts near Jaffnapatam, the strata in-

dicating a marine origin, there being a considerable quantity of shelly lime-stone and coral rock.

There are very few metals in Ceylon. It was the vulgar belief that all rich countries contained gold, and therefore it has been said that Ceylon contained that metal, of which, however, there are no indications. Iron and manganese are the only metals,—the ores of the former being pretty generally diffused and rich. Precious stones are very abundant, and some of them, as the sapphire, the aquamarine, and the tourmaline, are of great beauty. They are most abundant in the south of the island; and are chiefly found among the clay at the foot of the mountains.

One natural product of Ceylon, or rather of the adjoining sea, is its pearls. The principal beds for these are in the Gulf of Manaar, to the south of the island of that name; and they range, with some interruptions, over a space of about thirty miles from north to south, and about twenty from east to west. The centre is opposite Candatchy, about twelve miles to the south of Manaar. The depth of water over the banks is from thirty to forty feet. Both the oysters and the pearls are a lottery; one boat will land thirty thousand in a day, while another, at no great distance, may not get above

a hundred or two; and one oyster will sometimes contain more than one hundred pearls, large and small, while one hundred others will not contain one. The shell is clumsy, of an oval form, about three inches and a half long, and two and half broad. The quantity taken up in the fishing is so great, that the ground becomes exhausted, and has to be let alone for some years.

But notwithstanding the gems in its soil, and the pearls on its banks, the chief value of Ceylon, like that of India, is in its vegetable produce. Rice is the chief grain cultivated for human food, and hitherto the quantity produced has not been adequate to the supply; but ever since the island was known to Europeans, till within those few years, it has not been in a condition for enabling a fair estimate of its capabilities to be formed,—as there has been the hostile feeling between the Candians and people on the coast, and between the former and a mountain race of a very wild character, who inhabit the fastnesses of the interior, climb the trees after the manner of monkeys, and are supposed to be the aborigines, who have been expelled from the elevated country by the Candians, (who are probably from Bengal,) and by the people of the Malabar coast, from the level district in the north, toward Jaffnapatam. The brief notice that



we may afford to take of the population must, however, be delayed till we come to glance at the people of India generally.

The fruits of Ceylon are unrivalled ; and it is the grand garden of the cinnamon, one of the most agreeable of aromatic plants. The bark of this tree, the *laurus cinnamomum*, is the chief export, and has been, to Europeans, the chief wealth of Ceylon. It is confined to a comparatively small part of the surface, that which we have mentioned as being the most healthy and beautiful part of the coast, extending from Chilaw, about the middle of the west, to a little beyond Dondra Head, in the south. The tree grows wild ; but the best is that which is in a cultivated state, and the largest plantations are in the neighbourhood of Columbo. All the aromatic qualities of cinnamon appear to be concentrated in the bark, or rather, perhaps, in the proper sap that descends by the inner bark, for the formation of new wood, because it is when that action renders the bark easily separated, that it is in proper condition. The shoots from which the bark is taken are esteemed best when they are about three quarters of an inch in diameter ; when they are much older, the flavour is very inferior ; and out of the small and healthy district that has been mentioned, the tree is not worth cultivating.

Though the animals of Ceylon bear a considerable resemblance to those of the main land of India, there are some differences. The elephants of Ceylon, which are very numerous, are larger, and of finer appearance, than those of the continent, and great numbers of them have been caught and exported, as well as used in the island ; but the use of elephants in India is now rather on the decline ; as, notwithstanding all their strength, they are more showy than useful, at the same time that they are very expensive. Deer are very abundant in the woods ; and there is one species remarkable for the elegance of its form, which is not bigger than a hare. The oxen have a lump, and are very small, but strong for their size. Buffalos are equally abundant, larger, and therefore better adapted for useful purposes. Sheep do not thrive on the island ; and there are no horses, except in the possession of Europeans, or that have been introduced by them. Indeed the climate does not seem favourable to cattle and buffalos, as they are apt to be much thinned by *epizooty*, without its being easy to assign any immediate cause. The large striped tiger of India cannot be met with in Ceylon ; but there is a species, spotted something like the leopard, which, though not so large and strong, is abundantly ferocious.

In a country so warm, and, generally speaking, so fertile in vegetable produce, all the species of animal life must be in excess; and accordingly, in quadrupeds, in birds, in insects, and in reptiles, there are not only countless individuals, but countless species. One of the most singular creatures is the house-lizard, which, though of considerable bulk, can run up a perpendicular wall, or even along a beam or roof, with its back undermost, with the same facility as a fly. It does so by the same means; that is, by having the feet constructed as suckers, by means of which the creature can adhere to any surface, whether rough or smooth, as the whole surface of the foot is instantly applied in such a manner as to be air-tight; and as the weight hangs by the middle of each sucker, the pressure of the atmosphere, by which its fall is prevented, is very considerable. Instead of being a nuisance to the inhabitants, this singular creature is very useful, by destroying the flies with which the houses are very much infested, and which so throng round the lamps, that, were they not eaten by the house-lizard, they would absolutely extinguish the light. There are, however, many noxious reptiles. One of the most annoying of these is the leech, probably the same species that is met with in the Ghauts,

and in some of the other islands. During the dry season, these little creatures are concealed in the jungles, or under the ground ; but when the surface is wet, they swarm in such numbers, and are so persevering in their attacks upon the feet and legs of travellers, that hardly anything will keep them off. Their bodies are remarkable for flexibility, and they can draw themselves out to so fine a thread as to be hardly visible ; and thus they can insinuate themselves into any opening, however small. Their bites, when neglected, are apt to bring on topical diseases, which, from the heat of the country, end in gangrene and death. The labouring people, who generally go with the feet naked, are very much annoyed by them.

Considering the size of Ceylon, which is about the same as that of the main land of Scotland, and the great fertility of those parts of it which are fit for cultivation, it is but thinly peopled. Where there are wild tribes in the mountains, a correct estimate cannot be taken ; but it is probable that the whole, of all nations and classes, do not exceed a million, if they do not fall considerably short of that amount.

#### PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND.

This small, but advantageously situated

island, to which the natives give the name of Pulo Penang, or the Betel-nut Island, has been acquired in a manner different from most other oriental territory. It lies close to the Queda shore of the Malay Peninsula, in latitude  $5^{\circ} 25'$  north, and longitude  $100^{\circ} 19'$  east. Captain Light, the commander of a country ship—or ship trading from India to the adjacent seas, married a daughter of the King of Queda, and received Pulo Penang as a marriage portion. The East India Company, to whom Captain Light transferred the island, very properly left the establishment of a colony to him; and since 1786, when it was taken possession of, it has greatly improved in productiveness, in population, and in commerce.

The island is an irregular four-sided figure, about fifteen miles in length and eight in breadth. The north-east angle is very near the coast of Malaya, but the channel southward is about two miles wide, and forms an excellent roadstead for shipping; there being shelter from the hills of Queda on the east, and the elevated part of the island on the west. The high grounds are on the north and north-west, and from these the surface slopes to the south-east, and is well supplied with small streams. The hilly part is still covered by the remains of the dense forest which occupied the whole

island for ages, and furnished it with that coating of vegetable mould, by means of which the portion that is cleared has been so productive. The timber of that forest is of large dimensions and excellent quality ; single trunks being found of sufficient size to form the lower mast of a seventy-four.

The south and east parts of the island, which are now cleared, are chiefly planted with fruits and spices. The common productions of India and Ceylon, and those of the eastern Archipelago, as well as the West Indies, are brought together in Prince of Wales' Island ; and it would not be easy to name a fruit or a spice of the tropical countries which is not to be met with there in perfection. These fruits and vegetables are sold to the vessels which frequent the harbour. The staple article of export is pepper ; but as the place has the advantage of being a free port, it is the mart of a very considerable trade. The productions of Europe, of India, and of the surrounding coasts and islands, being all brought for exchange there.

As the trade, or rather the port, is open to all nations, so the town is no bad epitome of all eastern nations, and presents a more motley assemblage of active and industrious beings than is to be met with at most places. The



population has increased rapidly, and probably amounts to twenty thousand. A fifth part of this population is, however, at Wellesley Point, on the main land opposite. Georgetown is the name of the capital.

This little island lies, as it were, out of the reach of those violent changes of the atmospheric currents, which agitate the regions further to the west. The monsoons are not felt, unless occasionally in a swell of the sea, which, however, rolls mildly, without breaking, and is merely an indication of that more violent weather at some other place, from which the island is exempted. In consequence of this, the weather depends upon local causes; and as the hills in Queda are high, and some of those on the island itself have an elevation of between two thousand and three thousand feet, there are sufficient atmospheric changes for producing an abundance of rain, and violent though brief squalls of wind, although there are no storms deserving the name. The motion of the waters, by the monsoons, and in the channel between Sumatra and the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, produce violent currents of tide, which would be dangerous to small craft, among the rocks and islets, but which do not affect the shipping in the harbour. January and February are the hot and dry months, and the two months imme-

diately preceding have the heaviest rains. The other parts of the year are showery, and well calculated for promoting the growth of vegetation.

The climate is temperate, considering that the place is so near to the equator. As the sun is for some time hid behind the mountains of Queda, the mornings at Georgetown are cool; and even during the heat of the day, the temperature on the plain seldom exceeds ninety degrees, while on the mountains it is at least twelve degrees lower. It is probable, however, that the mild temperature depends in a great measure upon the evaporation occasioned by the woods, and that when they are farther cut down, the heat will become much greater. The fertility seems also to be very much dependant on the same causes; for the soil has diminished on the parts that are cleared. Thus, if the management of the people be not judicious, their island, fine as it is at present, may ere long be converted into a comparative desert. As is the case with the south of India, and the interior of Ceylon, the rock in Prince of Wales's Island is of the granitic formation, generally, we believe, of sienite. The only metal hitherto discovered is tin, of which the ore is not very abundant or rich, neither is it very accessible.

Though the Malays give it the name of Betel-nut Island, there are no areca palms upon it, the larger vegetation being forest trees. One plant in those forests is worthy of notice: the elastic gum vine, or caoutchouc tree (*urcela elastica*), the juice of which forms the common Indian rubber. That plant consists of a stem nearly round, and about three or four inches in diameter, with an ash-coloured rough bark. It creeps along the ground, putting out roots at short distances; and will sometimes extend in this way for a length of five hundred feet; but when it comes to trees, it climbs the stem, and ultimately ramifies itself among the highest branches. The juice, when fresh drawn, has the appearance, and also many of the chemical properties, of animal milk. It is obtained either by bleeding the vine, or by cutting it in pieces; and the quantity is so great, that an old plant, treated in the latter way, will produce nearly two-thirds of its weight. As a portion of the main land of India has been ceded to the Company by the King; as he is frequently annoyed by his neighbours of Siam; as he has become a pensionary of the Company, for the islands and the other land; and as the usual progress has been, "once a pensionary and soon a dependant," the same may, if the influence of the Company continues in the east, be the

fate of the sovereign of Queda; and the dominions of the Company, which already extend as far south of the eastern peninsula as eleven degrees of latitude, may be continued about four hundred miles farther, to Prince of Wales Island, which would be one decided step toward the acquisition of the whole peninsula.

#### SINGAPOOR.

This, though but a recent, and consequently yet only a small settlement, is, in a commercial point of view, one of the most important in the east, being central to the trade of India, the Eastern Archipelago, and China, and, in fact, one of the best situations in the world for a great entrepôt of oriental commerce. Singapoer is almost immediately under the equator, its latitude being only one degree fifteen minutes north. Its longitude is one hundred and four degrees east; and it lies on the extreme point of the Malay Peninsula. It is situated on a small island, and completely commands the Strait of Malacca, as a cluster of islands and coral reefs, which project from the opposite shore of Sumatra, bring the channel within four miles of the town. The island, or rather the cluster of islands, for there are many banks and coral reefs, separated by lagoons of salt water, is not very large; and a considerable portion of

it is covered by sand, or by pools of stagnant water, some salt and some fresh ; but where the soil is susceptible of supporting vegetation, its fertility is very great. Sand-stone and breccia are the principal rocks, and the former is in many places decomposed, and formed into downs, behind which the water stagnates. The interior of the island is much diversified with hills and dales, finely wooded, and abounding in water of excellent quality.

Notwithstanding the nearness to the equator, the great evaporation that must take place from the marshes, and the rapid decay of animal and vegetable substances, Singapoer is neither so hot nor so unhealthy as one would be led to suppose ; and it forms in these respects a remarkable contrast to the pestilent marshes on the low lands of Java. This is easily accounted for by the difference of their position. The sea and the atmosphere, on the north of Java, are hemmed in between Java on the south, Sumatra on the west, and Borneo on the north, and heated there as in a cauldron ; while at Singapoer, there is a continual play and change through the Strait of Malacca, and to the mountains in Sumatra on the south, and the Malay Peninsula on the north : so that whatever miasmata are raised from it, are instantly dissipated. With this healthiness, where all around

is questionable, the power of its climate, and the advantages of its situation, Singapoore wants only proper government to become a most important and valuable place.

If we may judge from the progress that it has made in population, this seems to be the feeling of the orientals. When the treaty was concluded with the native tomagory, or chief, in 1819, the whole population did not amount to two hundred. In ten years, counting from the rate of increase for the greater part of that period, it must have augmented more than one hundred fold, as it became at least twenty thousand. Great part of the population are Malays and Chinese, who, under proper regulations, are the most active and industrious people in the east,—the Chinese in particular, who emigrate to it in great numbers, the passage from China being very moderate, and as, from the great resort of shipping they find abundant employment. Much cannot be said about the productions of a place which has been so recently occupied; and probably there never will be much produce beyond refreshments for the shipping. But in every part of the world, from Spitzbergen to the line, there is something that is useful to man; and until it shall be ascertained what may be the value of the vegetation of the land, the sea



in the meantime offers its vegetation as an article of trade. The sweet sea-weed (*fucus saccharinus*), to which the Malays give the name of *agar-agar*, and which is, like many other productions of the sea that are neglected by most nations, of considerable importance in China, furnishes a crop to the industrious population. This *fucus* is remarkably succulent, and may be decomposed into a jelly, in which state the Chinese use it as glue, and as a size, in many branches of the arts. It grows upon the rocks and coral reefs, from which, in favourable seasons, at least a million of pounds may be collected. Like Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore is a free port, and the regulations are liberal and judicious; while water is abundant, and of very pure quality; and the port dues very moderate. By the latest accounts, it appears that pepper and coffee are among the most promising productions of the soil.

## ANDAMAN ISLES.

These are a group of islands, lying in the eastern part of the Bay of Bengal, south-west of Cape Negrais, the south-west part of the Burmese dominions, and having in all the intermediate space a chain of islets, reefs, and banks, upon which there are soundings; indeed the summit of a sub-marine ridge may be traced

all the way from the above mentioned cape to the island of Sumatra, and thence to a vast distance over the Pacific. It is partly owing to the resistance which this ridge offers to the roll of water from the Indian Ocean into the Bay of Bengal, that the monsoon is less violent to the south of Cape Negrais, than to the north, Andaman's isles extend from about  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $13\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$  north latitude, and their mean longitude about  $93^{\circ}$ . There are two principal islands, Little Andaman, and Great Andaman. Little Andaman lies farthest to the south, and extends about twenty-eight miles from north to south, by less than twenty across. Great Andaman lies about thirty miles farther to the north, and is about one hundred and forty miles long, but not more than twenty broad. It is in fact three islands, being crossed by two very narrow straits.

The surface of the Andamans is very diversified, and Saddle Peak, on the larger island, rises to the height of two thousand four hundred feet. They are clothed with thick forests of timber, and the scenery is in some places grand in the highest degree. The temperature is rather moderate; but the climate is exceedingly unhealthy; and the British settlements that were once made upon the islands, had to be abandoned, as unfit even as a residence for

convicts. The weather is very stormy, as the south-west monsoon beats upon the islands with all its fury for nearly eight months of the year. The surface is accordingly torn in pieces by torrents; and as the humidity is favourable to vegetation, the whole presents a succession of frowning woods and frightful chasms.

The people are suited to the climate and the weather, being, in their appearance, their habits, and their language, different from every race by which they are surrounded. In many respects, they bear a considerable analogy to the native Australians; and probably they all belong to the same negro stock, of which remnants are found in the interior of many of the countries of which the shores are now possessed by the Malays. They have the dark complexion, the large head, and the slender limbs of the Australians, and they are, like them, in the very lowest state of savageism. Their huts hardly deserve the name; they are without vessels for cooking; they cultivate no vegetable; and pick up their scanty living upon the sea coast, where they are dexterous in spearing fish, though, from the violence of the sea, they must suffer greatly in the stormy months. Their chief weapons are bows, strung with fibres of trees or slips of bambû, and they have some bows seven feet

in length, which they draw both by the hands and the feet, and thus discharge their arrows with the whole force of their body. Ptolemy, and the elder geographers, described them as cannibals, and more recent writers have spoken of their huts as being decorated with the skulls of their enemies ; but such of those huts as have been examined, and they were upon the smaller isles, where the people seem to be a little more civilized, were decorated, not with human skulls, but with those of a small hog.

The timber of the island is said to be valuable, but there is not any good description of it, and the mineralogy is wholly unknown. Both in the land and the sea there seem to be considerable resources ; but the natives cannot avail themselves of these, and others are deterred by the climate ; so that Andaman's Isles form a little section in the geographical description of the earth, and nothing more—until philosophy (and it will not be an easy or probably a satisfactory task) shall trace the origin and history of the race of which their inhabitants appear to form a part ; and then they will be important in the natural history of man.

#### CANTON.

Though the present connexion of the British with China be nothing more than a permission

to trade, yet a sentence or two, descriptive of the place to which this permission is confined, may not be altogether improper, as a close to our brief notices of the mere localities of India.

Macao is the first part of the Chinese territory that is reached on approaching the river. It is a small peninsula, occupying the extreme south of an island of considerable magnitude. This small portion of ground, with the town upon it, is the (nominal) property of the Portuguese. Its length is nearly a mile, and rather less than half a mile in breadth. It is connected to the larger portion of the island by a long neck of sand, not more than one hundred yards across, over which the Chinese have constructed a barrier wall which extends into the water on each side; and there is a guard at the gate. No foreigner is suffered to pass this barrier; and the object of the gate is to allow the Chinese to send in vegetables and other provisions to the town, which, as they can stop whoever they please, places the inhabitants at all times completely in their power. Macao is situated upon uneven ground; and the inner harbour, which however admits only vessels of small burden, is in a sort of bend between the elevations. The buildings in the town are of stone, in the European fashion; but

the streets are narrow and irregular, and there is an excess of convents, churches, and other religious buildings. There are several forts, upon which many heavy guns are mounted; but the garrison is small. There are factories in Macao, to which the agents of the different states that trade to the Canton river, retire when the trading season is over. The persons connected with these factories are indeed the chief supporters of the place, since the falling off of the Portuguese trade and influence in the east. The whole population of Macao, within the barrier, may be stated at about fifteen thousand, of which the Portuguese form less than one third. The offing below Macao is much infested by ladrones, or pirates, so that boats are not safe at any considerable distance from a ship. The anchorage at Macao is about five miles from the town.

Lintin, about thirty miles above Macao, and without the bars of the river, is the anchorage for armed ships, which are not allowed to proceed higher. This anchorage, which is under an island, is not very convenient, as provisions have to be brought from Macao, and the water is not good. A few miles above Lintin is the Bocca Tigris, or first bar on the river, which can be passed with safety only during the day. Ten miles above this is the second bar, and there



are also shallows in the passage between, so that the ships have often to be towed, and those which are descending do not complete their cargoes till they have passed the second bar.

The anchorage for merchant vessels is at Whampoa, about sixty miles above Macao. There are many islands in the river at this place, upon which sheds are built by the natives, and let out, for landing the rigging and stores of the ships, and on some of those islands part of the crews are allowed to land for amusement on the Sunday evenings.

A little farther up, the river contracts; but still, at Canton, it is broader than the Thames at London; and though the accumulation of craft upon the Thames be great, that upon the Canton river is still greater; and, besides the vessels that are riding there, or moving upwards or downwards, there are very many families that have taken to the water as a permanent habitation. Among all this crowd there is, however, a wonderful degree of regularity; and both intercourse and business are carried on with more apparent facility than in European rivers and harbours that are not half so crowded. The European factories, of which the English is the largest and most handsome, are arranged along the banks of the river with-

out the walls of the city ; and in the neighbouring suburbs there are shops, in which all sorts of commodities are exposed for sale during the day ; but in the night the Chinese retire within the walls of the city. The more completely to ingratiate themselves with the sailors, with whose foibles and frailties the wily Chinese are well acquainted, these shopkeepers have English sign-boards, and English advertisements in their shops ; and though they often lose sight of what in other countries would be accounted honourable dealing, they never lose their tempers. The trade from Canton is really immense ; but it is well regulated on the part of the Chinese. It may be regarded as made up of four separate branches. First, the Chinese trade in their own junks, some of which are of six hundred tons, over the whole of the Chinese sea, from the Straits of Malacca to Japan ; secondly, the trade of the western states, other than Britain, of which that of the United States forms a separate branch ; thirdly, the country trade with India, which is carried on from the Presidencies ; and, fourthly, the trade of the East India Company to Britain, by which alone the produce of China is, under the charter, brought to this country.

But, though the trade with Canton be very extensive, and of very great consequence to this

country, it has no further bearing upon the consideration of India, or of the Indian question, than as it forms the branch upon which the Company appear to have the greatest profit, and, consequently, to the enjoyment of which they adhere with the greatest pertinacity.

END OF VOL. 1.



THE  
PICTURE OF INDIA.

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CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY.



TAJ MAHAL.

OLD age commands veneration, for countries as well as for human beings; and an interest is felt for the memorials of races that have long ceased to exist, more keen and more exquisite than for any monuments which do not involve a reference to the human race. When India is

the subject, this feeling is deepened by the consideration that a knowledge of the past is necessary for a proper explanation of the present; for then, though generation after generation is gone, the people are still substantially the same.

As is the case with the early history of all nations, that of the Hindûs is far from satisfactory. It comes to us only in occasional glimmers, and it is so enveloped in the mist of time, and the still more impenetrable darkness of fable, that we are in a great measure left to conjecture as to the facts, and more so as to the dates. One point seems, however, to be ascertained, by the concurrent testimony of the ancient traditions and records, and by some circumstances that are yet existing—and that is, that though we could trace the history of the present native population of India clearly and satisfactorily to its origin, we should not thereby reach the aborigines,—the people by whom the country was first inhabited. We have evidence, as clear as can, perhaps, be obtained upon such a subject, that the ancestors of the present race, observing probably the same customs, and having the same degree of civilization, inhabited the country two thousand years before the commencement of the Christian era. But even then we find them



as a people that had come from another country, and not as native on the soil.

It is a singular fact, that nowhere upon the face of the earth, and at no period of human history, have a people been met with, enjoying almost any degree of civilization, and having records, either oral or traditional, whose traditions or records do not contain traces of migration; and that wherever we are enabled to say that man is in an original locality, we are enabled to say so only because his manners are too rude, and his memory too short for enabling him to contradict us. Turn to whatever region of the world we may, the civilized man has always been a traveller; and he alone is a native who is unable to tell us of his migration. What seems singular too, those civilized and migratory races, so far as we can rely upon their accounts, appear to have all proceeded from nearly the same place: the races that have swept each other in succession westward over Europe, the Mexicans in America, the Moors in Africa, the Hindûs in India, and the Malays in the Eastern Islands, have all proceeded from central Asia. Though these "travelled" races, as we may term them, have considerable, and even very great differences, the points in which they agree are fully as singular. They have in every age and country been men, not

only teachable, but in so far taught. They have never, so far as we are able to trace, been contented to pick up their subsistence from the spontaneous produce of the earth, or the wild animals of the chase: neither has war against animated nature been their only or even their chief trade. They have always been cultivators of plants, have had animals, of some kind or other, in a domestic state; and they have had some knowledge of the arts of building, manufacturing clothes and utensils, and have possessed some knowledge of the metals. Corn and cultivated fruits, such as we are acquainted with in Europe, have accompanied their march, and have not been found in places where we are unable to suppose that they have visited. The vegetation which they have thus scattered along with them, though modified by climate and culture, much resembles that which is still to be found in the valleys among the Hindû Cosh. The vine, the apple, the mulberry, and most of the stone-fruits that are improved by culture, have been traced there; and it is very probable that more careful examinations will increase the number. In that country, too, oats are found in a wild state.

Who or what these people may have driven before them toward the extreme north and west, we have no means of ascertaining, because

at the most distant period of which we have any record, they were driving each other. But to the south we have evidence that they drove before them a race, or races, that were mentally much inferior, and who were physically formed for existing in different climates. This is not the place, neither have we yet sufficient data, for discussing the question as to whether the negroes of Africa, and the negroes of the Pacific, including among the latter the natives of Australia, be the same race. But they are anterior to the others; and the peculiar texture of their hair alone shews, that they are naturally better defended against the perpendicular action of the sun, than the migratory people. In their dispositions they are more ferocious than the others,—probably not capable of the same length and implacability of hatred, which, though far from an agreeable proof, yet is a proof of intellect, but more the victims of momentary impulse and passion. This appears to be the cause, or at least one of the causes, of their subjugation, or rather their retiring before their invaders. Unless when there is reason to suppose that they have acquired it of strangers, this race appears to have had no knowledge of the metals, or of that rule and subjection which make men formidable as a nation or state. They have

never had any tradition either about their own origin, or about that of the world; memory has been chiefly confined to the individual; they have had no science of any kind, no record, and no alphabet; and they have hardly left any monument. In short, they appear to have been, and where we meet with them in situations where no example has been set them, they appear to be still, a people destitute of the elements of progressive improvement; and had the world been inhabited only by them, it would have been without a history.

The migratory people, on the other hand, have always had some sort of government, something by means of which they could act in concert, either for subsistence or for war. Even in the earliest times, and the rudest states, there have been chiefs, sometimes personal in the individual, but more generally hereditary; they have always had a history of some kind or other; they have had some means of record, and they have left some memorials behind them, even though as rude as the *dohm ringr*, where the ancient people of this country met in judgment; or the inclosures of stones, in which they used to collect at their beacon fires, in times of alarm; and the accidental fusion of which, by the potass of the former wood fire, and the heat of the

subsequent one, has wasted such a world of ink among the learned—in trifles.

One coincidence is very remarkable, and the many versions that there are of it, while they render the details puzzling and inexplicable, are confirmations of the general truth: they show that it must have been ancient among many races; and that is, a common event, and a common ancestor—a deluge, and a Noah. Egyptian, Greek, and Hindû, all tend to confirm some such catastrophe as that recorded in the book of Genesis; and though they all differ in the details, they agree in representing Noah, or Bacchus, or Meru, or whatever name they may give him, as a planter of vines, and a cultivator of the earth. The means of his escape from the deluge, or rather the warning given of it, is whimsical, as stated in the *Agni Pûrana*, compared with the account given in the book of Genesis. The fish that fell into his hand, the size that it grew to, and the horn on the fish that supported the ark, are all fabulous; but the following words are remarkable:—“Meru, with his sons and their women, and the wise men, and with them the seed of every living thing, entered into a vessel (which was fastened to a horn on the head of the fish), and were preserved.”

Though those fabulous accounts of a general

deluge are of comparatively little value in themselves, they are valuable as confirmations of the truth of Scripture history; and prove that mankind must have had a common origin, and a common history in the early stages of the world. The account of the deluge given in the *Pûrana* must have in part been taken from that in the Bible, and have had the fabulous additions made to it, as appeared best to suit the superstitious purposes of the users. It is not to be supposed that any of those fabulous accounts should be in accordance with the conclusions that would be arrived at by an examination of natural appearances, because it appears to be the general spirit of the Hindû mythology to stand as much opposed to nature as possible. That is found in the idols of the Hindûs, as well as in their fables. It is curious to contrast the statues of their gods with those of the Greeks. The latter were out of human nature as well as the former; but they were human nature improved, as we are accustomed to say, by ideal beauty. The idols of the Hindûs are, on the other hand, almost invariably, personifications of the ludicrous. The gods themselves being such, the account of the deluge need excite no wonder.

It is not, however, to discuss the nature, extent, and origin of the deluge, that this



subject has been alluded to: it is only to shew that the Hindûs, upon grounds that we cannot very well question, have an antiquity far “above all Greek, above all Roman name,”—though in their origin, as well as in their traditions, they may be connected with those people.

This Meru, who is also styled the “Son of the Sun,” (the title also given to the Menes of the Egyptians,) and whose abode and holy mountain, they place to the westward of Cabul, probably near Bamian, where the excavated dwellings and statues are very remarkable, was the founder and lawgiver of India; but when he flourished, or how far his sway extended, or at what future time his successors or descendants reached the valley of the Ganges, the Deccan, Cape Comorin, or even crossed the Indus, we are in as complete ignorance as we are of that at which Rama, with his auxiliary apes, subjugated Ceylon. Bûdha, the son of Meru, who has, perhaps, more worshippers than any other man ever had, is set down as the founder of the Oude, and the ancestor of Rama; and there are pedigrees of princes and families, longer than any thing to be met with in Wales, or even in Sir Thomas Urquhart’s genealogy of his clan; but these are understood and explained only by the learned pundits,—by the most learned of them; and therefore they do

not come within the scope of popular history. The gist of the whole matter is, that the race appears to have at first come from, if not from beyond, the Hindû Cosh, and divided, at a pretty early part of their history, into two races, the one in the east worshipping Bûhda, and that in the west following the Brahminical practice. These seem also to have blended together ; but of their progress over the country, and the manners of the people whom they found there, and of whom there are still said to be traces in the wilder parts of the country, we have no information upon which we can rely. The only general fact upon which we can positively decide, is, that among the native princes and chiefs, whether men or gods, there never has been any want of cruelty, or much that could be construed into a regard for human life.

There are said to have been, in those very early days, ten kingdoms in India, the inhabitants of all of which spoke different languages ; and that those kingdoms were five and five, composed of people called by two general names, the one of which occupied the peninsular part of India, as far north as the hills on the right of the Nerbudda, and the other India Proper. Draviras was the name given to the southern people, and Gures to the northern. The kingdoms in the south were Gujerat, Candeish, to the south

of it, and Muru (or the Mahratta country), in the centre of the Deccan; Toulangana, between the Godavery and Krishna, and Karnatra, on the south. The kingdoms of the Gaurs are said to have Utcala, occupying the coast of the Bay of Bengal, from the mouth of the Godavery to Balasore, and having the jungle and wild country on the west; Bengala, which corresponded with modern Bengal, though it probably extended farther up the valley; Tirhut occupied the left bank of the Ganges, from the river to the Nepâl Hills, all the way from the river Cosi to the Gunduck; Kanyacubja occupied the remainder of the Valley of the Ganges, with the mountainous part, as far as Cachmere; and Sereswati occupied the Punjab and country on the Indus, as far the Gulf of Cutch. How long those kingdoms may have remained independent, or by what means they were changed and obliterated, has not been recorded. The one in the north, where the people were, and are still, more active than they are in the south, is likely to have been the native one that interfered the most with the others; and as the invader of Ceylon was one of the sovereigns of it, it is by no means improbable that he extended his conquests along the whole eastern side, to opposite that island.

From the same native accounts, we learn

that there was another combination among the Indian powers, by the forming of four great kingdoms, at a period probably as early as the calling of Abraham. The Prachii, or eastern people, occupied the valley of the Ganges; the Deccan formed a second kingdom; the countries on the Indus, a third; and the country south of the Krishna, the fourth.

Those kingdoms were of very ancient date; for they must, according to our chronology, have terminated during the time when the Jews were governed by the Judges, that is, nearly fourteen hundred years before the birth of Christ.

If we can trust the records of the Hindû astronomical observations—and astronomy, from the facility with which one can calculate backwards, and determine what actually has been, in as far as the solar system is concerned, is not a very safe chronological instrument in the hands of a priesthood, who rest so much upon antiquity as that of India—but if we were to rest the date upon that foundation, according to the poem or romance of the Mahabharat, the great change was made in the worship of the country by Bali Rama and Krishna, who vanquishing Jara Sandha, the King of Bahar, put him to death in the most cruel manner, and established by force the worship of Vishnû, and nearly extinguished the ancient adoration of Siva.

There are traces of Bali Rama from the banks of the Ganges to the Carnatic, and the river Krishna proves the extent to which his brother must have penetrated, so that they must have overrun the greater part of India; and this must have been at a time anterior to the excavation of the cave temples that are found in many parts of India; for though some of these be exclusively dedicated to Siva, or Mahadeva, and others to Bûhda, yet many of them contain the additions made to the Pantheon by the two brothers and their followers. It is, therefore, at least probable that the kingdoms of India were thus overrun by domestic conquest, before any foreigner tried the experiment. But though we are told of extensive kingdoms, and sounding names of conquest, we know that, in those places where the ancient manners remain with the least foreign alteration, as among the Rajpoots in Ajmeer, the system of society is feudal, and the detached rajas exercise in their own territories all the powers of sovereignty. The antiquity, if not the authenticity of these matters, is proved by the fact, that none of the invasions by foreign powers, some of which were, at a very early period, noticed in the accounts of them, and those occurrences, though temporary, must have made as much noise at the time as the descent of Meru himself.

The first of those invasions was that by Sesostris, the Egyptian monarch, probably about a hundred years after the wars of Bali Rama and Krishna. It is true that we want dates in the case of Sesostris, as well as in that of the heroes of the Mahabharat. But the want of a date, though it may prove the want of a satisfactory chronology, is no argument whatever against an occurrence; and we have no more reason to doubt the invasion of India by the Egyptian, than we would have to doubt the visit of an island by any navigator, of whom the natives could not speak as to days and dates. The probability is, from the period as well as the similarity of the names, that Sesostris was the Shisbak, king of Egypt, who, in 972, A. C., according to our era, came against India with so powerful a host, among whom were the Ethiopians, and carried away much of the riches with which Solomon had adorned the temples, before he went to India. Sesostris is reported to have conducted his army across Africa, all the way to the Atlantic, which would give him the means of having the Ethiopians and Lybians in his train. But though actually, as is reported, he did penetrate to the Ganges, and as far as the Chinese sea, there is no memorial of his conquest.

The next invasion of India, is within the



limits of dated history ; and though we cannot be certain for a few years, it was in the beginning of the fifth century before Christ. Less ambitious, but more avaricious, than Sesostris (who, by the bye, seems to have had some resemblance to Bonaparte), the Persian, Darius Hystaspes, sent a messenger to ascertain the wealth of India before he marched thither. The representation was favourable ; and India was invaded, and part of the princes of the Punjaub became tributaries. Indeed it appears, that, about this time, if not earlier, the eastern people had been invaded by their neighbours on the other side. The wealth of their country, and their comparative feebleness, had tempted the daring mountainers of the Himalaya ; and thus the princes in the east and the west were prevented from assisting each other, each having to defend his own position. This dominion of the Persians, over a part of India, continued for nearly two hundred years ; but during the latter part of that period, when troubles had begun to overtake the Persian monarchs, it was merely nominal.

In the year A. C. 328, Alexander made his incursion into India, for the avowed purpose of compelling the kings or rajas to pay the tribute which had been imposed by Darius. That conqueror had intended not merely to reach the

Ganges, as Sesostris had done, but to conquer the country on the banks of that river. But though he was successful at the commencement, the mutiny of his troops upon the banks of the Beyah, compelled him to desist. When Alexander withdrew, the natives set about corrupting the troops that he left behind, by encouraging them in all manner of luxury and excess; and the activity of a native prince conspired with that in extinguishing the power which had been established in the Punjaub by the Persians. That prince was Chandra Gupta, the illegitimate son of the lunar sovereign of Bahar, who succeeded in seating himself upon the throne of the Prachii, and though he acted with cruelty to his own family, was so brave, that when, about thirty years after the invasion by Alexander, Seleucus came to subdue India, he contented himself with making a son-in-law of Chandra Gupta, on condition of annually receiving fifty elephants. The last invasion into India by the successors of Alexander was by Antiochus, about one hundred and twenty years before the Christian era, and he also was appeased with elephants and money.

But those visits of the Persians and Greeks were made only to the northern parts of India. The district between the desert and the Vindhaya

hills was in the possession of the Rajpoot princes; the kingdom of Bijanagur probably remained undisturbed in the south; and the Deccan, enclosed by its hills and its jungles, consisted of independent states, composed probably of the same Maharattas, whose descendants are its chief inhabitants at the present time, deriving their name, perhaps, from the Maharajas or great lords, whom they were under.

As is generally the case with dynasties, that of Bali Rama waxed more and more feeble on the throne of Bahar. With changes of race, however, there were changes of fortune; and Sipnea, who reigned during the middle of the second century, has left evidence, that if he did not possess, he claimed the greater part of India; as there are documents granted by him still extant, in which he designates himself monarch of "the three shores." Probably something like a general sovereignty continued for about five hundred years, or till the middle of the seventh century, as we have at that time Paloman closing a brilliant career of victory by drowning himself in a sacred stream, and doing both in imitation of his grandfather. About this time, the Punjaub, whose princes do not appear to have learned bravery from their western invaders, was ravaged by the Huns,

who are said to have met with hardly any resistance. The country on the left bank of the Indus from Cachmere to the desert of Ajmeer, was at that time under a Hindû prince, who was in alliance with those to the south and east of him; and when the Kaliph Omar attempted to seize the country he did not succeed, though the Mahomedans soon after got possession of the country on the lower Indus. .

An enemy was preparing, however, whose impression upon the country was to be much greater than that of any that had occurred between his time and that of Meru. The governor of Khorassan, having rebelled against his master the king of Buckharia, seated himself upon the throne of Ghizni, laid the foundation of the Ghazana power, and was to be the means of sending to a considerable portion of India a conqueror from, probably, the very place whence Meru had issued. The second of the sovereigns of Ghizni began to ravage the country, but it was not till the reign of the third that the conquest was begun.

Mahmoud mounted the throne of Ghizni in A. D. 998, as an independent prince, though acknowledging the Caliph; and having first extended his conquests northwards across the mountains, he ultimately, in the year 1001, penetrated so far into the Punjaub as totally to

defeat the king of Lahore. Two years afterwards he defeated the kings of Mûltan and Lahore in one battle ; but was called off to resist an invasion of the Tartars into his other territories, and he left the charge of his affairs in India to a converted Hindû. No sooner was Mahmoud gone than the Hindû reconverted himself, and joined his own countrymen ; but Mahmoud defeated them on his return, and in 1011, marched and plundered as far as the city of Delhi. The Sultan, for such was the title of Mahmoud, (and he was the first that bore it,) extended his conquests over the greater part of India Proper, collecting vast quantities of riches, and waging hostility with both men and idols, from the contents of one of which latter, defended with more determination than the Hindûs usually displayed, he is said to have got immense wealth. After reigning with triumph, and with some of the better qualities of a monarch, for thirty years, Mahmoud died at Ghizni, in 1028.

But the wealth which the sultan of Ghizni had collected to his capital by his repeated spoliations of India, was not destined to remain long in the hands of his race. It was a time of great commotion among the inhabitants of central Asia, various hordes of whom were continually making inroads into the kingdom of

Ghazna. Of the mountain races, one of the most valorous and formidable was the Gaurs, or mountaineers of the western and central parts of the Hindû Cosh. These people had never been subdued, even by the Persians when in the zenith of their power; and they at last became so formidable that they dethroned the successor of Mahmoud, one hundred and thirty years after the death of that sultan, and thereby not only paved the way for a continued sway over India, but for the elevation of a Mahomedan to the throne of Delhi.

The Indian provinces remained a little longer in the hands of the dynasty of Mahmoud than those on the right of the Indus; but the Gaurs gained possession of them in 1184; and, in ten years after, they founded the Afghan Empire in India. There is some romance in that part of Indian history. Jye Chandra, king of Canoge, unjustly held the office of supreme ruler and high-priest, the legal heir being Pithuara, the young king of Delhi, who was formidable for his valour and his virtue. A beautiful damsel had been presented to Jye Chandra by the king of Ceylon, and adopted by him as his daughter. This lady had been promised in marriage; but having seen the gallant Pithuara, she became enamoured of him, obstinately refused to marry the other,



and was shut up by her adopting father for the refusal. The high-spirited Pithuara had incurred the hatred and meditated revenge of Jye Chandra, because he had disdained to officiate under him at a solemn ceremony, upon the feeling that he was the true high-priest himself. That a lady should be immured for love of him was too much for a high-souled prince. He sent a bard to sing at an entertainment given by Jye Chandra, while himself, with a train of chosen followers, waited upon the bard, in disguise. He saw and bore off the lady, though not without a violent scuffle; and the rage of Jye Chandra knew no bounds. He called in the aid of Shahabodien Abul Muzzaffur, who defeated and slew the king of Delhi on the plain of Thanessar, annexed that to the Mahomedan territory, soon defeated Jye Chandra, and thus was monarch of the finest and largest portion of India.

The Mahomedan power was, about this time, divided; and Cuttub, who had originally been a slave, having succeeded to the Indian empire, changed the seat of the government from Lahore to Delhi, and turned his attention to the subjugation of Bahar and Bengal; but he died before either was accomplished. This was the foundation of what is called the Patan dynasty of the Mahomedan emperors of India. Altmush,

the successor of Cuttub, extended the conquest over the whole of India Proper, with the exception of the mountain rajahs in Ajmeer, Malwa, and Gujerat, who have always been a bolder and braver people than the inhabitants of the plains. Altmush is represented as having been different from most Mahomedan conquerors, as he neither harassed the priests nor demolished the temples and idols, as had been the general practice ; but his reign was unsettled, on account of the turbulence of the southern mountaineers, as well as by a threatened revolt in some of the provinces upon the Indus, which were still claimed by the sultan of Ghizni.

A new and most formidable enemy now appeared in the person of Genghis Khan, the Mogul, or, rather, perhaps, the Turk. Mahommed Shah, who held the throne of Ghazna, or, rather, perhaps, it should be called Khorassan, which had now become a great empire, imprudently refused, or neglected, to make an apology, as Genghis had demanded, in consequence of the lieutenant of Mahommed having killed some Tartar merchants. The Tartar immediately put his hordes in motion ; and Mahommed instantly crossed the mountains to give him battle in the plains of Turkistan. They met ; but the sultan, overpowered by

numbers, and, probably, outdone by the daring Genghis, was overthrown with terrible slaughter. The efforts of the sultan to arrest the progress of the victor in the passes of the mountains were unavailing, and he was compelled to flee toward the Caspian, on an island of which he died in the year 1220. The Afghans fought like lions, and the eldest son of the sultan showed himself worthy of a better fate. His prodigies of valour were numerous; and when there was no other alternative left, he dashed into the foaming Indus, in sight of the conquering army, and escaped to India. Thence he returned in a few years; but the fate of the empire was confirmed, and Genghis remained the master and the terror of Asia, from the southern confines of the Punjaub northwards.

The immediate and short-lived successors of Altmush had not been, like that monarch and his predecessor, slaves, who had risen to imperial honours by their own talents; they were feeble; and there were intrigues, during which the Mogul adventurers occasionally ravaged the Punjaub, and once or twice approached the confines of Delhi. The fortunes of the empire were improved, however, by Mahmoud, the son of Altmush, who was called to the throne about the year 1255. He was a man of great vigour and daring, and so independent, that, while he

was kept in prison, during the reign of his predecessors, he scorned to receive any one's assistance, and supported himself by writing books. He was a model of monarchs, as well as of men, and equally astonished the people by the certainty of his victories and his kindness to the vanquished. Nay, even after he was raised to the throne, and engaged in the vigorous exercise of the government, he scorned to be fed out of the public treasury, and continued to maintain himself by the labour of his own hands during a splendid and prosperous reign of five-and-twenty years.

And he was followed by one worthy of being his successor. Having no family, he nominated Balin, a relation of his own, who, like his father, and his father's predecessor, had been bought as a slave. Under Balin, the Mahomedan empire in India was, perhaps, in the zenith of its real glory. If ever so high praise could be given to man, it might be said of Balin the Turk, for he was from Turkistan, that he neither had a vice nor wanted a virtue. He was temperate; he was generous; he was kind; he promoted the useful arts; he repressed tyranny; the fame of his court collected the learned, the wise, and the good, from all quarters of Asia; the unfortunate had a ready asylum in his palace; and yet he displayed all

the dignity and decision necessary for a great monarch—against those who wantonly behaved ill he was severe, and to traitors he was implacable. He and his two sons formed, perhaps, the most extraordinary imperial family upon record. He not only encouraged commerce and the arts, but made every exertion to improve the taste of his people, in their dwellings, their dress, and all their decorations; the divines, philosophers, and poets, had nightly meetings at the house of his eldest son; and those who were eminent in the fine arts, at the house of his youngest.

When Mahomed Shehid, his eldest son, went to Lahore, to assume the vice-royalty of the western provinces, that capital became as renowned for learning as Delhi. But the love of philosophy did not damp the spirit nor blunt the military talents of the prince. Timur, a descendant of Genghis, who ruled the eastern part of the late empire of Khorassan, led a powerful army to the invasion of the Punjaub. The prince left his philosophers, took the field, and defeated the enemy, in a battle in which much skill was shown upon both sides; but pressing too forward and far in the pursuit, he was unfortunately killed, and the emperor died soon after, in his eightieth year.

One of the most singular acts of Balin was a

campaign against a forest. Gang-robbery, which, under the name of *dacoitism*, is still too common in India, was then carried on almost to the very gates of the capital, there being an extensive forest to the south of the city, toward the hills of Ajmeer, in which the depredators could easily elude pursuit. Balin sent an army of hatchet-men against that, and cut it down for an extent of a hundred miles, thereby at once dislodging the robbers, and bringing a great extent of land into cultivation.

But such a state of things was too good for being durable. The other son of Balin being in Bengal, his son, a boy that had been bred in luxury, was placed on the throne. The minister corrupted the young monarch; and though his father hastened to save him, his efforts failed, and the young emperor was murdered after a reign of three years.

That happened in the year 1289, and Feroze, an Afghan of another dignity, got the throne, and appeared anxious to compensate for the way in which he had got it, by an excess of ostentatious lenity afterwards; and though he was a man of abilities, several things occurred in his reign that tended to weaken the empire. The Moguls came, to the number of a hundred thousand, and though the emperor checked them in battle, they retired in military order;



the administration had not its wonted vigour ; and he and the greater part of his family were murdered by Alla, his own nephew, a man whose ambition probably accelerated the fall of the empire.

While governor of Oude, under his uncle, Alla had extended his conquests into the Deccan ; and, when he had gained the throne by the murder of his uncle, pushed his conquests over the greater part of the peninsula. This was probably the first time that the south of India had been passed over by conquerors, not of some of the forms of the Hindû faith ; and the spoil was excessive—Ferishta says, one hundred millions sterling. That is a vast amount, certainly, and may be exaggerated ; and yet we are to recollect, that the priests and rajas of that part of India had been amassing treasures from the era of Bali Rama,—that is, for more than two thousand six hundred years, and those of parts of it for a much longer period ; and that the west coast of this part of India was that which exchanged its produce for gold. The great productiveness of the soil of India, the small cost at which the people are supported, the division into small states, in which there were few to be enriched but those who kept the palace and the temple ; the large portion of the produce given for the use of the

land, the value of Indian commodities in countries farther to the west, and the length of time that the accumulation had been going on, probably tend to make those who form their notion upon European models underrate this accumulated wealth, a good deal more than it is overrated in the glowing language of Ferishta.

Notwithstanding the crimes of which he was guilty for the purpose of raising himself to the throne, the ambition of his character, and the unprovoked plunder that he perpetrated in peninsular India, there were some redeeming points in Alla. He was brave; and, when he obtained the superiority that he sought for, he was just and equitable in the use of it. The activity of his municipal system rendered the country safe; he treated his Hindû and Mahomedan subjects exactly in the same manner; he even projected a new religion which was to unite them; and when the Moguls, who had now begun to hang upon the northern frontier of India, dared to enter his territory, Alla drove them back with great spirit.

But though the Mahomedan Empire of India was more extensive and, probably, better governed under Alla than at any subsequent period, there is no doubt that he was the primary cause of the fall of the Afghan dynasty. The weapons of India are feeble, but its wealth is

invincible—at least *was* so, while there was much with which a plunderer, whether from the west or the north, could be intoxicated. Cafaor, who had been Alla's general in the south, and accumulated much wealth, rebelled, even in the life-time of his master ; the spirit of intrigue was rooted among the omrahs or nobles of the empire, and the temptations to the Moguls to take advantage of circumstances were greatly increased. The empire was widely scattered ; and south of the central hills the dominion, which had been obtained by plunder, was far from stable. From principle, the Hindû rajahs could not be expected to pay any more deference to the court of Delhi than they could help ; and upon the Mahomedan deputies that had been left in some places, want of principle probably had the same effect.

A series of intrigues and excesses followed the death of Alla ; and the court soon found that it had become poor, after the accumulation of much wealth. Balin could afford to expend large sums in the direct establishment of manufactures and trade ; but, in about a century, his successors were obliged to debase the public money, an event which has, in all ages, been attended with the most dangerous, if not fatal, effects to the state.

Cafaor, after putting out the eyes of the two

elder sons of Alla, enjoyed the regency for five weeks. Mubaric, the third son of Alla, succeeded; but, in less than four years, he and all his sons were butchered by Hassan, the son of a dealer in old clothes, whom Mubaric had raised to the dignity of vizir. The son of the ragman mounted the throne, from which he was almost immediately precipitated by Tuglic, also the son of a slave, but of a slave that had come from the same country as Altmush and Balin. Under him, the imperial crescent again ascended and shone; but, at the end of four years, he was killed by the fall of a wooden house in which he was entertaining the grandson of Balin. His son Mahomet was a conqueror, or rather a plunderer, and again overrun the south of India, which had revolted; but it was too soon after Alla and Cafaor to be very profitable. He would have plunder, however; and, for the purpose of obtaining it, he raised one army for the invasion of the country beyond the Hindû Cosh, and another for that of China. One hundred thousand horse were sent to explore the rout to the latter country; but the Chinese presented an impenetrable frontier there, and the vast array was, on its return, overtaken by the monsoon, and more completely annihilated by the elements than the army of Napoleon on its flight from Moscow. These

expenses led to the depreciation of the currency, by issuing copper coins at a nominal value, and discontent and calamity immediately followed. To heighten the mischief, he ordered the court to be removed from Delhi to Dowlatabad ; and the excess of his taxation brought famine upon many of the provinces, and drove numbers of the inhabitants into the woods, from which they issued in bands, and plundered the country.

These troubles in India Proper were accompanied by the loss of the whole of southern India, and the Deccan, except Dowlatabad. The Raja of the Carnatic, Belaldio, consolidated his kingdom on the southern table land ; and forming a junction with the Raja of Telingana, his neighbour, on the north-east, expelled the Mahomedans : and, while the emperor was conveying a tooth, that he was obliged to have drawn, to the grave, in the most solemn manner, and erecting a monument over it, Belaldio was erecting another sort of monument for himself, in founding the city of Bijanagur, the most singular in point of situation that is any where to be met with, and the most durable as a ruin (for it is now little better) that is to be met with in India. The place upon which it is built seems as if it had been the battle-field of the gods and the Titans. It is a plain, surrounded and strewed with immense masses of

granite, sometimes so far asunder as to admit of long lines of buildings, and at others so close as to allow only one person to pass. Among these are the remains of the houses and public buildings, and their appearance, even now, impresses one with a more high opinion, both of the taste and the power of the king of Canara. Every thing has been very neatly done, and yet so strong that it seems as if made to last for ever. Wall or pillar, arch or dome, beam or rafter, all is of granite,—the streets are paved with the same material, in masses from side to side; and the canals and tanks are excavated out of the solid rock. The pieces that have been moved and worked are immense—sometimes fifty feet long, and of corresponding breadth and thickness. The strength of those buildings, the singular way in which they are placed, sometimes under the shadow of the rock, and sometimes perched on the side or the summit, with the richness of the little plains that sometimes occur between the rocks, have a very picturesque appearance, and make one almost regret that Bijanagur should not still be a capital. One of the most public thoroughfares in it is singular, as passing under a magnificent gateway of the native rock.

Even the troops of Mahomet, that he had



sent to quell disturbances in the Deccan, and many of whom were Moguls, set him at defiance, marched into the Deccan, took Dowlatabad, and laid the foundation of the Mogul kingdom in the Deccan. The capital of that kingdom was Colberga, in the Beemah province; and the first sultan was Alla, who was an Afghan, and originally slave to a star-gazing brahmin of Delhi, by whom the future elevation of Alla (then Hassan) was foreseen in the horoscope. Alla, as had uniformly been the case with slave sultans from the Afghan mountains, ruled well and moderately. This took place in the year 1347, and was the foundation of what is called the Brhamenee dynasty, Alla, having taken that addition to his name in compliment to the brahmin who prophesied him to the throne; and as the same brahmin was made lord of the treasury, and had his name coupled with that of Alla in all public documents, the probability is, that he may have done more than merely prophesied. Before the death of Alla, all that part of the Deccan which had formerly been over-run by his namesake was reduced under his sway,—the death of the restless Mahomet, in 1351, having favoured their cause.

Feroze, the nephew and successor of Mahomet, was a prince of very different character;

and had it not been that the conduct of his predecessor, the progress of intrigue, and a disposition on the part of the omrahs to assume sovereign power in their own provinces, and even controul that at Delhi, had shaken the very foundations of the empire, Feroze would have done honour. He was chiefly employed in the erection of public works, of useful, of ornamental, or of charitable character ; and the number of those that were erected during his comparatively peaceful reign of thirty-nine years, is almost incredible. But public spirit is far more essential to the greatness and durability of a state, than public works ; and while Feroze was digging, building, and beautifying, the Moguls were meditating how they might best invade the empire ; and the native Hindûs and governors of the provinces, how they might best throw off the imperial yoke.

Feroze died in 1388, and a scene of assassination and brief reigns followed, the imperial sceptre being completely in the hands of the omrahs ; they at war with each other, and the sultan, whoever he might happen to be, a mere tool in their hands. The governor of Bengal became sovereign in every thing but the mere name, and many of those of the other provinces only waited their opportunity to do the same ; the Maharattas also appeared in

power—a power which they continued to hold long after the empire had come to an end.

There seems, indeed, to have been at this time a crisis in the whole affairs of Asia. The governments had become so effeminate that they were ready to fall to pieces. There was a man prepared, too, to take advantage of that crisis. This was Timur Bec, the celebrated Timur the Tartar, who overturned all the thrones that Genghis and his descendants had erected from China to the Syrian desert, and overthrew Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks. He bent his course toward India. In the year 1696, a grandson of the Tartar had crossed the Indus, and ravaged part of Mûltan; and in the following year the hoary ruffian himself passed the Hindû Cosh. There were many difficulties to contend with. The people of the mountains were brave, and the mountains themselves were a most formidable barrier; and it is probably only in respect of a historian, that the crossing of the mountains by Timur is not more celebrated than Hannibal's passage of the Alps. The mountaineers fought with great bravery, but they were, at any one point, but as one to a hundred to their enemies; they were vanquished, and as far as that could be done, exterminated; and the Tartar had only to war with the elements and the earth. Un-

skilled in the passes of the mountains, and at deadly strife with those who could have been guides, the number of men, and still more of horses, that perished, by storm, by snow, and by precipice, was very great. A scaffold had to be made for Timur, on which he was lowered down from ledge to ledge, by ropes, sometimes more than two hundred feet at a time. At length he reached the Valley of Cabul, and hastened to cross the Indus at the pass of Attock. His army had heard of the formidable elephants and impenetrable cuirasses of the enemy, and would readily have desisted from the enterprize. But Timur was not to be restrained. Onward they marched. Turning to the south, they pillaged and devastated great part of the Punjaub, in order to relieve Timur's grandson, whom the people had invested in Mûltan; and then they moved on toward Delhi. The city had been prepared for a vigorous resistance, but Timur contrived by stratagem to draw them out into the field. The Sultan Mahomed, or rather his master, the Omrah Ekbal, took the field with forty thousand guards, ten thousand mailed horsemen, and one hundred and twenty elephants, having their tusks armed with poisoned daggers. Timur saw that the elephants were the chief terror to his own army, and therefore he fortified his

front with that at which all animals quail, fire. The elephants were routed : the men fled ; and when night came, the Sultan and the Omrah took their way in opposite directions ; while Timur, sending a strong escort after the Sultan, entered the city. The Sultan was overtaken by the detachment, and though he effected a farther escape, his two infant sons, and a number of his followers, were destroyed.

Timur laid the city of Delhi under the most severe contributions, and his officers broke into the houses to ascertain what there was left for them in addition ; some of the people resisted the injustice ; a Tartar or two were killed, and the imperial city was given up to sack and massacre. The temples and palaces were burned ; all that could not be conveniently carried off was destroyed, and the streets flowed deep with blood. The Patan Emperors and their Omrahs had committed vast plunders and devastation from the mountains of Sirhind to the shores of the Indian ocean. But this was a fearful retribution, and it came with equal enormity upon those who had formerly been the spoilers, and those who had been the spoiled. Not satisfied with having done for himself so much, and, in as far as the people of Delhi were concerned, so unprovoked cruelty, he would needs add a little more for the honour of the prophet.

So he went to the devotional places, and murdered the Hindû devotees in cold blood. From Hurdwar, he passed along the northern mountains, massacring as he went, till he recrossed the Indus, after a period of not much more than five months.

It does not appear that Timur had any other design in entering India than to plunder the country ; and there is no question that that was his object in visiting the holy places. But these had been previously visited by Mahomedans ; and thus, though the carnage that he committed among the worshippers was great, he did not meet with much wealth, except what he found in Delhi. There was a cause indeed that arrested his progress, before he had wasted the country to the extent that he probably intended. No sooner had Timur crossed the mountains than Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor, began to stir up disturbances in the western part of his dominions. Had not that arrested his career, there is no saying how far he might have proceeded, or whether he might or might not have retained the country, and carried into the south the same cruelties that he perpetrated in the north. As it was, he obtained only the Punjaub.

Timur, besides a name not likely soon to be forgotten, left in India something like the sha-



dow of authority. The coin was stamped in his name, and prayers were read for him in the mosques; but these seem to have been only clokes for the conduct of the omrahs, who contrived to deepen the calamity and ruin which his barbarity had perpetrated. The governors of the provinces withdrew the slight remainder of their allegiance, and the power of the emperor was reduced to nothing—indeed, he seemed to retain his office simply because nobody that was more powerful than himself had leisure for so trifling an office as the dethroning of him. In the year 1413, the feeble monarch died, and the race of Patan sovereigns became extinct.

The race of Seids, or descendants of the Holy Prophet, followed, and held feeble sway for thirty-seven years, during which time the rulers of almost all the provinces had revolted, and the real dominions of the emperor were confined to the neighbourhood of Delhi. The second and last of the Seids gave up his throne to a rebel that he was unable to conquer; and Secunder, the son of that rebel, might, probably, have done a little to restore the power of the empire; but he was cut off by death; succeeded by his son Ibrahim; and it became necessary to close the list.

Ibrahim was a man of the most worthless

character, equally ridiculous and cruel; and while the people generally held him in derision, the life of no man of any consequence was safe from the steel of the assassin. It therefore became necessary to look out for a ruler who should be of a different character, and who, if not wholly above, should be unconnected with, the intrigues of Delhi.

## CHAPTER II.

THERE was a man of that description at no great distance : the Sultan Baber, a descendant of Timur, who had his capital at Cabul, and reigned westward of the Indus, both south and north of the mountains. Baber, though born to a throne, and endowed with all the qualities calculated to honour one, had been a soldier of fortune. The first object of Baber in India was that of a conqueror,—to indemnify himself there for the territories of which he had been deprived in the north ; and for some time his efforts were divided between reducing the Omrahs of the Punjaub, and the King of Candahar. In the year 1525, however, invited by a portion at least of the people, he

marched for Delhi. The support on which he had dependence must have been considerable, as he crossed the Indus with only ten thousand troops ; but as he advanced his army increased, by the defection of the generals and troops of Ibrahim. Ibrahim mustered a large army to resist and oppose the Sultan, and they joined in battle upon the plain of Paniput, about fifty miles north-west of Delhi. Ibrahim fell in battle, together with sixteen thousand of his troops ; and the victorious Baber marched on. The gates of both Delhi and Agra were thrown open to him ; and thus the Mogul dynasty was established over the provinces of Mûltan, Lahore, Ajmeer, Delhi, Agra, and Oude, which at that time were all that remained of the empire. But Baber's reign was not free from troubles ; and had it not been for the excellent character of the emperor himself, it might have been very disastrous. We shall for once indulge in a quotation, by citing Ferishta's character of this emperor—" Baber so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make it a principle and rule of his life to return good for evil ; he thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshippers of his virtue. He was of the sect of the Haunafies, in whose tenets and doctrines he was perfectly versed ; but he yielded more to the evidence of reason than to

the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the Great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy. He excelled in poetry and music, and wrote his own commentaries, in the Mogul language, with such elegance and perspicuity, that they are universally admired." Other concurring testimonies leave no room for supposing that this character is exaggerated: for there are many instances of the moderation, justice, and kindness of Baber, yet repeated as anecdotes in the east. Yet Baber was fond of pleasure; but he enjoyed it in moderation, and wished others to be happy as well as himself. The invasion by Baber, if invasion it can with propriety be called, formed a vast contrast with the brutality of Timur.

He died in the year 1530, thus having swayed the sceptre of India only for five years, a period much too short for enabling him to extend the empire to its former limits, which, had he lived, there is no doubt he would have done, with equal mildness and success.

Baber was succeeded by his son Humaioon; but he had many difficulties to contend with. He was obliged to assign to his brother the whole territory west of the Indus; and the

ambitious omrahs plotted to destroy him. He took the field, subdued Gujerat and Malwa, and entered Bengal. He was treacherously deceived by Shere Khan, the regent of Bahar, who was son of a mountaineer of Rohilla, and a man of extraordinary talents; and was forced to escape, first to the Rajpoot princes in Ajmeer, and then to the court of Persia, and there mounted the throne; so that there was an Afghan, or mountaineer, again invested with imperial sway. Shere, though vindictive and cruel, was not inattentive to the state; he very much improved the internal communication of the country, both by additional accommodation and additional severity. His reign was short, however, for he was killed accidentally in 1545. A rapid succession of sovereigns, none of them apparently very fit for the office, followed; and at last it was resolved to recal the son of Baber. Secunder, the nephew of Shere, had seized the throne, and marched to oppose Humaioon, who was returning from Persia with an army; but he was totally defeated, in 1554, and Humaioon, the second of the Mogul line, was established on the throne. Humaioon inherited all the virtues of his father, Baber; but after his return he had but little time to display them, for he survived his victory only a single year.



The race of Baber was, however, destined to raise the throne to the highest pitch to which the combination of valour, ambition, and wisdom, could raise it. Acbar, the son of Humaioon, was born in adversity, when his father was in exile, among the Rajpoot princes; and he seems to have profited at a very early period by the hard lesson. When Acbar lost his father, and mounted the throne, he was only fourteen years of age, and he was under the guidance of Byram Khan, a minister of consummate abilities, but of most ambitious and domineering character. Young as Acbar was, however, he had the tact to turn all the Vizir's good qualities to account, and restrain all the bad ones. The revolted provinces were speedily reduced; but Byram, who had hoped to be ruler, was only the instrument. They were reduced for Acbar; and he took care that only such governors should be appointed as would remain in subjection. The generous nature of the young emperor was what displeased Byram most; and some of the instances of that were certainly striking. Himu, the brave vizir of the usurper, Mahomed, led an army into the very centre of the empire, and seized both Agra and Delhi. Acbar met and routed him in the field, and after the greatest displays of valour, the commander was brought before Acbar, covered with

wounds. Byram demanded that the prisoner should instantly suffer as a traitor. Acbar drew his sabre, touched the head of the wounded hero with it, in the gentlest manner, and burst into tears. Yet Acbar had himself been the victim of cruelty: one of those perfidious uncles who had been the cause of his father's exile, bound the young prince to a stake, and exposed him on the ramparts of Cabul, when his father's army was besieging that city.

When Byram found that he could not controul Acbar, he rebelled, and basely turned against his master an escort that he had obtained in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was soon defeated by Acbar, but the prince pardoned him, descended from his throne, and led him to his old place at the head of the omrahs. Now, however, stung at being the object of that clemency which he had laboured to repress, he preferred the pilgrimage in good earnest. He was provided with an escort, and funds becoming his former rank, but was waylaid and killed by the Afghans.

Acbar's next minister was the learned Abul Fazel; and the two together set about a thorough improvement of the internal state and regulations of the empire, while the sons and generals of the emperor were extending its limits. The Ayeen Acbaree was the result of

the inquiry that had been made ; and when the resources of the country had been ascertained, the improvement of it was set about with the greatest vigour. The country was divided into eleven soubahs, or provinces ; these were again divided into circars, and the circars into pergunahs ; and what each had and required was ascertained, to the minutest district. Nor were the means of informing the people neglected : schools were established ; books were composed and translated ; the spirit of the emperor inspired the people ; the arts improved ; industry became general ; every body had abundance ; there was no oppression, no heavy burden, and yet the imperial revenue amounted to full thirty millions, besides a contingent revenue of twenty millions more. In this scientific reform (for it was, perhaps, the most scientific, and at the same time the most salutary and successful reform in which ever monarch engaged), Acbar did more real good to his people than if he had commanded all the armies that ever were brought into the field. But it is probable that he was too generous,—had too exalted an opinion of mankind ; for though his armies were efficient, and in excellent discipline, he left them under the controul of princes or nobles who were nearly independent ; who, even during his lifetime, were sometimes ready to revolt, in spite

of all his vigilance ; and who were the cause of some disturbance afterwards. But, taking all the circumstances together, there is certainly no parallel to Acbar in the page of history. At fourteen, he was a good and a great prince, and his goodness and greatness increased at an equal rate during a reign of fifty-one years. Considering the state in which he found the country, the number of races in it, the clashing of two hostile faiths, no man ever gave such an impulse to a country, or demonstrated more clearly the great good that a government is capable of effecting. Unfortunately for India, Acbar died in 1605, and, unfortunately also, his eldest and most promising son, Danial, preceded him ; and thus the bright day of Imperial India closed with the tomb of Acbar.

The nobles plotted to raise to the throne Khosru, the grandson of Acbar, instead of Selim, the father of that prince ; but they were defeated, and Selim ascended the throne of his father, under the name of Jehanghire. There were many amiable and admirable qualities in this emperor, but his passion for a female stained him with crime at the commencement, and tended to render his government more feeble than it otherwise would have been. That lady was Noor Jean, a child of the wilderness, into which poverty had driven her father, who was

a Tartar. He found his way to the Indian court; being a man of talents and virtue, he came into notice, and his daughter became one of the most beautiful and accomplished women in Asia. The prince had been deeply enamoured of her, before the death of his father, Acbar; but as she was betrothed to one of the best and bravest omrahs, Acbar would not consent to a breach of faith, in order to gratify the passion of his son. The lady was married: but neither that nor time abated the passion of the prince; and when he was seated on the throne, he caused the husband to be assassinated, and conveyed the lady to his zenana, or harem.

This act, which was one of the madness of a passion, of all passions the least governable, appears to have been a solitary crime on the part of Jehangire. The father of Noor Jean was elevated to the rank of prime minister, and his other relatives had high places at court; but they were all persons of talent and worth; and, though the relatives of a mistress that had been obtained by murder, it does not appear that the emperor could have made a better choice. The same system that Acbar had begun was followed up, and whole provinces, or districts at least, were won back from the jungles, and filled by an industrious population. The conquests were also extended, though these do

not appear to have occupied the same attention as the prosperity of the country already under the imperial sway. Both the public and the private character of the emperor appear to have hidden the spot of the murder. He was equitable, he was just, he was generous, and he was kind; but there was a caprice about him that had some analogy to madness, and which may have been at once the cause and the excuse (in as far as an excuse could be found) of the deed of which he had been guilty. The laws were administered with the utmost fairness, nobody being either persecuted or pardoned for favour, or because they belonged to one party rather than to another. He was a great personal favourite, and walked about among his people, in plain attire, without a guard, and sometimes without an attendant. He was fond of pleasure, fond of literature, fond of his people, and very fond of justice, so that if the one act could be forgotten, Jehangire would hold rather a forward place in the class of kings, though, compared with Acbar, there was certainly a falling off. In the latter part of his reign, Noor Jean had a great deal of influence over the conduct of the emperor, and in her intrigues she appears to have acted a part which it is not easy to explain,—the general bent of which was to exclude Shah



Jehan, the most able and enterprising son of the emperor, from the throne, though that prince was married to her brother's daughter. Shah Jehan, beside his father-in-law, who was a man of great prudence and talents, had very powerful friends; and the intrigues, which broke out in the form of rebellion before the death of the emperor, hastened that event, and were the commencement of a series of court enmities which continued to the close of the empire.

Shah Jehan ascended the throne in 1628; and he took a most cruel method of preventing, as he thought, any future conspiracy, by putting to death all the male descendants of Baber, except himself and his sons. Before his death, however, he found that he might have spared his cruelty,—at least, that if the future tranquillity of the empire was his object, he would have had to extend his murders to his own house, because there were there the seeds of conspiracy, which in the end, threw him into prison, and destroyed all his sons but one. The power and riches now at the command of the Mogul Emperors, appear to have been too great for human nature to bear. No tie of relationship or of gratitude appeared to be able to restrain those who had the most remote claim, from attempting to get possession of them; and thus, unless in the extermination of all

who could by possibility make the attempt, there was no security for the reigning prince, and no tranquillity for the empire.

Those, indeed, who have yet to be taught how much more heavily the curse of despotism falls upon despots themselves, than upon the people that are given up to their passions, and what real blessings the freedom and independence of his people are to a king, cannot study those salutary doctrines in a more instructive school than that of the Mogul Emperors of India. For deep and dark as their annals are with crime, we are all along compelled to view that crime as the deed of the office, and not of the man. Though we had had the choosing of the men that were to govern a large empire, with the greatest pleasure to themselves and the greatest happiness to their subjects, we could hardly have chosen any other than Baber and Acbar. Jehanghire, too, one would gladly suppose, was actuated more by the phrenzy of passion than by any inherent love of evil; for we have seen that he was mild, generous, forgiving, and just, in the general tenor of his life.

Shah Jehan and his family would, under different circumstances, have been models of all that is great and virtuous in the human character. In the administration of the law he

was just and equitable; as a conqueror, especially as a Mahomedan conqueror, warring with the consciences of men as well as with their arms, he was merciful; and in his domestic life he was quite a pattern. He had but one wife; their family was numerous; and they all possessed talents calculated for ensuring the esteem of the world. Dara, their eldest son, would have been an honour to any age. He was elegant, he was learned, he was just, and his bravery and generosity knew no bounds. Sujah, the second son, was fond of pleasure, but that was tempered by a great deal of prudence, and he also was open and brave. The talents of Aurungzebe, the third son, were of a sterner cast, and without the external blandishments of his brothers; but they were more powerful, and that power was increased and rendered dangerous by a habitual penetration into the designs of all other people, and a careful concealment of his own. Morad, the youngest son, was violent and headstrong; but excelled all the others in daring courage, and also in openness of character. Contrary to the usual practice, those princes had been educated in active life, and the characters which they displayed they had formed for themselves, not in the seclusion of a court, but among the people, to whom they were well known. Even the

daughters of Shah Jehan had conspicuous characters. All three were beautiful and accomplished; and the first and second were politicians: the eldest as the partizan of Dara, and the second of Aurungzebe, of the artfulness of whom she had a large share. The third is represented as being mildness and sweetness itself. With such a family, and with viceroyships in the provinces, equal in splendour to sovereignties, with conquest extending on all sides, and every thing flowing in that appeared calculated to satisfy ambition, one would have supposed that the house of Shah Jehan would have contained "the happy family." But the imperial Musnud was before them; and though their father had cut off the greater part of the royal line, there were four still; and the case was made more imminently dangerous by their being brothers, and each having some character with the public, and, therefore, some party devoted to his interests.

As Shah Jehan had married early in life, the characters of his sons were fully developed while he was yet in full vigour; and he seems to have been perfectly aware of the deep and dangerous character of Aurungzebe; as he gave that prince commands on the out-posts of the empire, and occasionally shifted him from the extreme south to the extreme north.

But Aurungzebe (it is impossible to study his character without being struck with some points of resemblance to Shakspeare's Richard) appears to have resolved from the beginning that he should be emperor, though the game was dangerous, and would to ordinary duplicity have been impossible. Shah Jehan was beloved by the people, and not an omrah, hardly even a mercenary, would have moved against him. Dara was also an idol, and he was the favourite of his father. Sujah was powerful in the command of the rich province of Bengal; and Morad was brave, though weak.

Aurungzebe assumed the habits of a fakir, and gave out that he regarded this life as only the highway to the next; but he lost not a single opportunity of extending the conquest of the Deccan, all for the glory of Allah and the greatness of Shah Jehan; but at the same time he contrived to consolidate a power there, which he could not only render independent, but turn against the north of India, whenever it suited his purpose. He had the art even to get one of his creatures appointed vizier to the imperial court at Agra; and, through him, to regulate his own measures by those of the court, so as to acquire strength without exciting suspicion.

Shah Jehan at last fell sick, and committed

the government to Dara, who either saw that his brothers would conspire against him, or was actuated toward them by a feeling very contrary to that which he displayed toward his father, and, indeed, to his general character. His brothers held command in Bengal, the Deccan, and Gujerat; their agents and papers were seized; all intercourse with them prohibited; and the imperial army was ordered to prepare for the field. Sujah immediately took the field, but was defeated by Soliman, the son of Dara. Aurungzebe proceeded with greater cunning. He gained over his brother Morad, and his former favourite, the vizier, with his army; and with these he took the route for Agra. The emperor, by this time, had recovered, and sent orders to his two sons to return; but Aurungzebe had perfected his plan, and marched. Aurungzebe passed the mountains by treachery. Dara had the imprudence to persuade Shah Jehan not to take the field, and thus the cunning Aurungzebe, by giving out that he came not as a rebel, but to quell the rebellion of his brother, prevented that defection of his army that would otherwise have taken place. The armies met; Dara was defeated, and forced to leave the country. Aurungzebe corrupted the remaining part of the army, and after a tissue of hypocrisy and deceit



made prisoners of his father and brother Morad. Sujah, after a series of gallant efforts, which were foiled more by the treachery than the arms of his brother, fled to Arracan, where he and his family perished. Dara rallied gallantly in Gujerat; but he also was overcome by treachery, exposed as a traitor in the streets of Agra, and then murdered. The talents and the perfidy of Aurungzebe carried every thing before them; and he was soon master of the whole empire, and had his own governors in the provinces. When it suited his purpose, he did not scruple even to play the conjurer. An old woman, who professed supernatural power, had drawn together a number of fakirs, persuading them that in her arts they would be invulnerable; and they did defeat a number of parties that had been sent against them; but the emperor made counter charms, and they were routed.

But the perfidy of Aurungzebe, though it enabled him to defeat and overturn, was by no means calculated to consolidate; and while he was busy in ruining the states of the Deccan, whether Hindû or Mahometan, new enemies were arising, and the country was wasted. The famous Sevagee, who was a sort of Aurungzebe in his way, laid the foundation of the Maharatta power in the Deccan; and though the emperor

marched, and fought, and plundered, the mountaineers could not be exterminated, but spread themselves along all the ridges and jungles of the Deccan; and while he was combating in one province, they were plundering in another; and so insincere were the people, that many of them left the plains and joined the Mahārattas. Thus the country was left in a much less secure state than the emperor had found it; while the emperor, by his constant habit of plundering wherever he went, had weakened the means of defence. Those indications were not confined to the Deccan; for the Seiks and Jâts, the mountaineers of the north, committed ravages in that part of the empire, though they were not so formidable, either in numbers or in position, as the Mahārattas. The long absence of the emperor in the Deccan, too, had allowed cabals to form in the very heart of the empire; and though these did not come into action during the life of the emperor, they were in preparation. Thus, though under Aurungzebe, the Mogul empire extended from the confines of Persia to those of Assam, and from the Hindû Cosh to the banks of the Krishna; though his own government was regular and vigorous; though he had accumulated more wealth, and displayed more splendour, than, perhaps, any man that ever

lived : yet there were more enemies within and on the confines of his empire ; and there were difficulties to contend with which no man of less talent and cunning than himself could overcome. His sons, too, had seen and followed his example, so that they bore towards each other the greatest jealousy. Death closed his splendour, his ambition, and his fears, in his camp at Ahmednuggar, on the Beemah, on the twenty-first day of February, 1707, when he had reached the age of ninety-four, and enjoyed the imperial throne nearly forty-eight years.

Notwithstanding his talents, his success, and his splendour, it is impossible to admire the character of Aurungzebe, or to regard him in any other light than that of a swindler, a murderer, and a plunderer,—one of the heaviest scourges that ever was laid upon a country, and the real source of all the troubles that for a century afterwards desolated India. And yet, as a mere spectacle—a phenomenon in human nature,—there is very little equal to him. He promoted the arts ; he encouraged learning ; he established schools, and erected public works : he was most active and impartial in the administration of justice ; and he was liberal and ostentatious in his gifts. He rose at dawn every morning, and was in the hall of justice at seven.

There he was accessible to all his subjects, heard their complaints, and, if they were poor, he had a heap of money beside him, out of which he paid them for the loss of time that they had sustained in coming for justice. The trappings of his state were costly beyond example and almost beyond credibility. The roof of the hall of audience was of silver, and the screens that divided it from the other courts, of solid gold; and his throne, founded as it was in blood, was worth a million sterling—nay, the canopy and furniture of his state elephant were estimated at fifteen millions. All had, however, been gotten by plunder; for the revenues under Aurungzebe, notwithstanding the increase of territory, were probably not much greater than under Acbar, and the expenses were greatly increased. The example of Aurungzebe shows how much wealth and splendour one man may accumulate to one spot, if he has the power, and is not restrained by principle; and the subsequent history of the Mogul Empire shows how soon such wealth may be scattered, and the power by which it has been accumulated broken.

When Aurungzebe went to his place, his sons were scattered. The eldest was in Cabul, the others in different places, and each had his party. These took arms: three hundred thou-

sand men engaged in battle near Agra; the second son, Azim, was slain, and the eldest ascended the throne, under the title of Bahauder Shah; but was obliged to put down by force another of his brothers. He appears to have possessed both abilities and moderation, though the government was too unwieldy for him. He suppressed some insurrections, but did not attempt any further conquests in the south of India.

At his death, in 1712, there was, as usual, a civil war among his sons, the eldest of whom succeeded in killing the other three in battle, and was himself defeated and killed the same year by two governors of the eastern provinces, who set Ferakshere, a grandson of Bahauder, upon the throne, and deluged the capital with blood. The two brothers, by whom the new emperor was set up, and the outrage perpetrated, were two military adventurers, Seids, or descendants of the prophet, that had ingratiated themselves with Azim, the brother of the late king, while governor of Bengal, and had been rewarded with the governments of Bahar and Allahabad. This, which happened in the very year in which Aurungzebe died, shews the state in which he had left the power of the government, and the respect of the Mahomedan lords for it. From the manner in which society

is constituted in India, and the case will never be better while that constitution of society continues, no part of the power of an Indian government rests with the people; the only difference that they feel between one and another is the difference of the taxes that are levied upon them. The native princes, or their descendants, could not be supposed to have any other feeling toward the Mogul government than that of hatred; and whatever service any part of the Hindû population may have rendered, it must always have been mercenary, and ready to be transferred to any other party that would give higher pay. Thus the only strength that the empire had was in the Mahomedan lords; and when a number of these had begun to set up for themselves in the provinces, and others had found that they could sit upon the throne whensoever they pleased, the imperial power may be said to have been at an end. In the very year, therefore, that closed the long and splendid reign of Aurungzebe, the power of the Moguls in India was at an end. Even while he was alive, the Maharattas had the audacity to demand tribute from him for not plundering the province of Malwa, and in a very short time they received the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue, of the provinces in the Deccan, together with the *deesmukkee*, or



tenth ; and they had the power of collecting by their own armed parties, which was just the same as giving them free range and license to rob and plunder as they listed ; because those who were unable to keep them out of those sovereign powers could not controul them in the exercise. The Maharattas soon extended their ravages to the vicinity of Agra ; and they would have carried back to the Deccan the spoils which Aurungzebe had taken from it, if they had not been anticipated. The two adventurers made a pretty quick succession of emperors—they dethroned another, and another, and another,—did the final office for another, still,—and were preparing for the second, when he took the start of them, and the doom was their own.

The next emperor was Mahomed Shah, a great-great-grandson of Aurungzebe, though he ascended the throne only eight years after the death of that monarch. His reign was a long one ; he died in 1749, after having reigned twenty-nine years. The state of things was such that no monarch could have been great, and as Mahomed was indolent and fond of pleasure, his reign was most disastrous. Nizum ul Mûlk, the viceroy of the Deccan, laid plans for making himself independent there, and so leagued with the Maharattas, that they extended

their power into Malwa and Gujerat, and the greater part of Ajmeer, and it was evident that Nizum intended to be emperor; but he found that the mild conduct of Mahomet had preserved for him a considerable party. Meanwhile, the son of a shepherd of Khorassan had overturned the monarch of Persia, under the humble name of Kooli Khan, or Khan, the slave, mounted the throne by that of Nadir Shah; and, as such, was chastising the people on the west bank of the Indus. A message which he sent to Delhi did not meet with proper respect, and his messenger was killed. This was a pretext; and the Nizam invited Nadir to invade India, in the hope of thereby accomplishing his own purpose. Nadir advanced, took terrible vengeance upon the inhabitants of the town where his messenger had been killed, and proceeded toward Delhi. Mahomed collected an army, but had advanced only one day's march from Delhi, when he was met by Nadir, defeated, and his best general killed. Two crores of rupees (two millions sterling) would have induced Nadir to return; but a disappointed prisoner told him that the ransom was worth more, and Nadir and his army entered the city. What may have been his original intention is not known; but during two days his army behaved in an orderly manner, and he

appeared in the character of the emperor's guest. On the second night a report was propagated that Nadir was killed, and the inhabitants of Delhi most furiously began to massacre his army, and the night was one of confusion and carnage. Nadir appeared early in the morning, and ordered that no age or sex should be spared in any street where the body of a Persian was found. The command was fearfully obeyed; and from dawn to noon-day the sabre was red and reeking with blood, while many of the people destroyed themselves to escape the brutality of the enraged soldiery, and others took occasion to add to the murders—in the gratification of their private revenge. The city was on fire in many places; and it was noon-day before the emperor and his nobles could get access to Nadir, to implore mercy in the name of the Prophet. "I forgive," said Nadir; and every Persian sword returned to its scabbard; but private butcheries still continued. The dead bodies caused a pestilence; and famine was soon added to the horrors. An hundred thousand of the people are said to have perished.

But though Nadir had forgiven, he had not forgotten—a custom which is but too regular upon such occasions. He swept Delhi more completely with the "besom of destruction,"

than Aurungzebe had swept the Deccan. Three millions and a half in money; one million and a half in plate; fifteen millions in jewels; the peacock throne, one million; the trappings of the elephant, eleven millions; thrones, elephants, horses, equipage, fines, private plunder,—all that could be extorted or carried, to the amount of, some say eighty, but certainly sixty millions of pounds, was carried away; and the government was left as poor as it was wretched:—and this was only six and twenty years after the pomp of Aurungzebe.

The Nizam, if he did invite Nadir, for the authorities are not perfectly agreed upon that point, did not expect such extremities. He got the power that he longed for; but the wealth was gone, and he preferred the Deccan.

There is one fact recorded of the dreadful carnage and plunder, which throws a good deal of light upon the feeling that the people of India had, and in all probability have, towards public and even private calamities, when they do not fall upon themselves individually. They remembered with approbation the jests and pleasantries of the soldiers of Nadir Shah; and made them the burdens of their songs, and the points of their scenic representations. This was a proof, and a most melancholy proof, of the degeneration that had taken place since the com-

mencement of the dynasty under Baber ; or, rather, since the throne had become so very splendid, and so unfairly obtained by treachery and bloodshed.

Lower than this the empire could hardly be degraded ; and, therefore, it became the prey of whoever listed. The Deccan and Bengal became independent, the former under Nizam and the Maharattas, and the latter under its own Nabob. The Rohillas, who had originally emigrated from Cabul to the eastern part of the Province of Delhi, in the beginning of the century, set up an independent state in Rohilcund. The Maharattas swarmed into the provinces, under the false pretence of reconquering them for the emperor, till they so established themselves, both in the north and in the south, that the whole of India was within their reach, and almost in their power. Abdallah Ahmed Shah, who had established himself on the Indus, invaded India ; but, though he annexed the north-western territory to his own dominions, he was in some measure the means of breaking the power of the Maharattas.

The successors of Mahomed Shah were very feeble, and the remains of the empire melted away, till only the city of Delhi, and a small district around it, remained to the descendants of Baber. The Jâts, who had been allowed

to migrate from the banks of the Indus, and settle in the doab between the Jumnah and Ganges, in the reign of Aurungzebe, and who had rewarded him by plundering his baggage when he was upon his last march into the Deccan, and with the proceeds of which they erected the fortress of Bhurtpore, which has stood so many sieges, found themselves strong enough to take possession of Agra. The Patans of Rohilcund also defeated the imperial army; and, indeed, that had become a thing which almost any body could beat, and of which nobody were in any dread, unless probably the emperor himself.

A crisis had indeed arrived, much more summary in its operation, and much more certain in its result, than that which had ushered in the fall of any other empire; and it had also come more immediately after, and grown more immediately out of the most dazzling period of that empire. The people who inhabited the cities and plains of India were passive, as usual, and all parties appear to have been enemies and oppressors to them. But there were three hostile parties: the revolted viceroys, who had become sovereigns of the most wealthy and important provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Oude, with all that part of the Deccan which was not held by the Maharattas. These were



Mahomedan states—at least, they were states under Mahomedan princes or nabobs. The Rohillas may be considered as belonging to this party. A second party also consisted of Mahomedans, and were more powerful than the other, because they were under one controul, and because they had more recently come from those mountains that had always been more productive of bravery than the plains of India. They were the Dûrannees of Cabul, who, under Ahmed Shah, had extended themselves as far as Lahore, and were in all the vigour of a new and conquering people.

The third were the independent Hindûs, who were either still mountaineers, or had descended into and taken possession of a portion of the plains. They were the Jâts, already mentioned as defying the emperor at the gates of one of his capital cities, and were in actual possession of the other. The Seiks of the northern mountains may be considered as another class of Hindûs, who, though, like the Jâts, to whom they were assimilated, both in language and in manners, they were more bent upon depredation than upon conquest, were yet powerful enough to harass the empire. The Rajpoot princes, who had never been absolutely conquered, had regained possession of all Ajmeer, and extended themselves into Gujerat; and though they were

not bent upon conquest, they formed a third native power, by which the remainder of the Mogul Empire was hemmed in. The Maharattas were the most numerous, formidable, and extended of all the natives. They held the whole of the northern Deccan, with great part of Malwa, and portions of Allahabad and Agra; and they were disposed to overrun and plunder any part of the country to which they could get access, a considerable number of them being professed Pindarees, or robbers. They were now formed into several states; but they were disposed to act in concert against anybody else. They had compelled the Nabob of Bengal to cede Orissa to them, and to pay them a tribute for his other possessions.

Thus, amid other parties, the Great Mogul had become a mere name; but still it was a name that was held in great veneration among the great body of the people. These had felt the advantage of having some one that could protect them from the tyranny of their local masters, and give them redress; and there is no doubt that even while Aurungzebe was plundering the princes of the Deccan, he was conferring a boon upon many of their subjects. Thus, while the emperor held the name, popular reasons made it policy to respect that. Grants of land were accordingly always sanctioned by his name.

even in places where he had no authority. The nabobs had firmans of appointment under him, even though they did not permit him to interfere by any act of sovereignty; and the coin continued to be struck in his name, long after he had become the mere pensioner of a foreign power. There seems, indeed, to have been something about the house of Baber which no misfortune could destroy, and upon which the action even of time itself has been much more slow than upon most other monuments of greatness in India.

In the midst of those surrounding enemies, the Emperor Ahmed Shah was, in 1753, deposed by Ghizi ad Dein, the son of a former vizier, with the assistance of Holcar, a Maharatta chief, who had been called in to assist in subjugating the Jâts, and his cousin Aulumghire was placed on the throne.

The new emperor, finding that he was merely a tool in the hands of the man that had set him up, applied to Abdalla, the Dûrannee Shah, who readily came, but demanded, or rather took, so much for assistance, that the very tombs were rifled. The Jâts, also defeated him, so that, in 1758, he returned toward Cabul, leaving the emperor very much worse for the assistance he had pretended to give him. The emperor then became a sort of shuttlecock,

flying alternately from one party to another, and each party in its turn deceived and insulted him, and plundered the remains of his empire. Toward the close of his miserable reign, Abdallah, the Dûrannee, again paid him a visit, and Delhi was plundered anew, and nearly depopulated; but a pestilence, which broke out in his camp, forced him once more to return. As, however, the emperor had begged not to be left in the power of his vizier, the shah left him in charge of a chief of the Rohillas. No sooner had Abdallah gone, than the vizier formed a junction with some Afghan and Maharatta chiefs, and invaded and took Delhi. The Rohillas bribed the Maharattas and escaped; but the emperor remained in the hands of the vizier, to be assassinated whenever that might appear to be necessary.

The Maharattas, a party of whom had before been allowed to settle in Rohilcund, came in such numbers into the north, after the vizier, who was in fact now the emperor, had employed them as auxiliaries, that, not without reason, they alarmed the Mahomedan chiefs on the east of the Ganges for their own safety. The vizier easily persuaded two of the Maharatta chiefs to pass the river, for the purpose of conquering the plain of Hindûstan. But Shujah ad Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, made com-

mon cause with the Rohillas; the Maharattas were defeated, and their army driven across the Jumnah, or drowned in that river. On the other hand, the Maharattas had extended their operations toward the north-west, and possessed themselves of great part of Lahore and Mûltan. This roused the attention of the Dûrannee Shah, who collected a powerful army of his hardy mountaineers, and hastened to recover his lost provinces. The Maharattas had proved so cruel conquerors, that no sooner was Abdallah on his march than the Mahomedan chiefs implored him to come to their assistance; and they even offered to place him on the imperial throne, instead of Shah Allum, the son of the late emperor. He accepted the invitation, at least so far as to march his army toward Delhi; and it became evident that the fate of India was reduced to one struggle—a contest between Maharatta and Mahomedan power; and that, in the event of the latter being triumphant, it would be Dûrannee power or not, according as might be the future pleasure of Abdallah.

The Maharattas collected their forces and formed their camp upon the plain of Paniput, already famed in the history of India. With them were the Jâts, and some of the other predatory tribes of Hindûs; and the whole population of

the camp, plunderers, followers, women, and children, are supposed to have exceeded half a million—though it is not, of course, possible accurately to state their number. This large following, which has always been an inseparable adjunct of an Indian camp, is one of the chief causes of weakness, and, when the camp remains long in one place, of certain defeat. The armed force of the Maharattas was, however, very considerable: they had about sixty thousand veteran cavalry, fifteen thousand infantry, two hundred cannon, and an immense number of smaller pieces, mounted upon camels, together with about fifteen thousand Pindarrees. They had strongly entrenched their camp; and the whole were under the command of Sedasiva the Bhow. It may not be irrelevant to mention, that the titles of most of the Maharatta chiefs were family names, in the same manner as they used to be among the Scottish Highlanders, though one, the Peshwa, means the leader, and was applied to those who were considered as the successors of Sevajee, who first formed the Maharattas into a nation during the reign of Aurungzebe.

The Mahomedan army consisted of the Durranees, whom Abdallah had led from Cachmere, the Rohillas, the Nabob of Oude, and some other Mahomedan chiefs. In regular



troops they were about as numerous as the Maharattas, and they were not encumbered by so numerous a following. They had upwards of forty thousand horsemen, of whom nearly thirty thousand were Dûrannees; and those were men of great personal bravery, and well mounted upon horses of the Turkish breed. Their infantry were more numerous than the regular part of the Maharattas; and they, especially those from the Rohilla country, were of a superior class. In cannon they were greatly inferior, not having above one third of the number. The armies came near each other in October, 1760; but the flood of the Jumnah kept them asunder for a time, during which the Maharattas entered and again plundered Delhi, proclaimed the grandson of Aulumghire emperor, and, in the hope of detaching the Nabob of Oude from the party of Abdallah, declared him his vizier. Upon this Abdallah and great part of his army swam the Jumnah, and had the better of the Maharattas in several partial actions, some of which were very bloody. It was contrary to the usual practice of the Maharattas to fight pitched battles; and so they remained in their position, and more strongly entrenched their camp. Abdallah contrived to surround them by his parties, and gradually

cut off their supplies, so that, at last, the Bhow had no alternative but a general action.

Early on the morning of the 7th of January, 1761, he led out his army. The Shah allowed them to remove to a considerable distance from their lines; and then attacked them so suddenly, and with so much impetuosity, that the numerous cannon of the Bhow were of comparatively little service. Both parties fought with the determined rancour of personal enemies till about noon, when Biwass Row, the son of the Peshwa, a youth of about seventeen, was mortally wounded: this, by some means or other, produced a panic in the Maharatta army; and the rout soon became general. The slaughter in the action, the flight, and of prisoners, was very great; and of those who escaped the fury of the Durannees, many were killed by the country people, in revenge for the excesses of which they had been guilty. What became of the Bhow is not known. The probability is that he was killed, but his body was not found; and that occasioned the appearance of a spurious Bhow, at Benares, about eighteen years after. At the battle of Paniput, the Maharattas had put forth all their strength; and that was so completely broken, that only a very small fragment of their army found its way back to the Deccan.

This decisive victory gave Abdallah the complete power and disposal of the Mogul throne; but it did not suit his inclination or his policy to occupy it himself, and, therefore, he wanted Shah Aulam, the son of Aulumghire, to accept it; and, upon his declining, he set up Shah Aulam's son, the same that had been named by the Maharattas, under the name of Shah Aulam the Second; leaving him under the protection of Nugid ad Dowlah, the Rohilla, in the same manner as he had left his grandfather. One of the obvious causes of Abdallah's removal was the formidable aspect of the Seiks, who were attacking his forts in the Punjaub; but whether it was his intention, after he had reduced the Seiks, to return and seat himself upon the throne of Delhi, and, by the aid of fresh levies from the west, to re-establish the Mahomedan empire in his own dynasty, cannot now be known, as this was the period at which that series of operations, which led to the establishment of the British power, first assumed a formidable appearance.

No sooner had Abdallah and his Dûrannees returned, than the remains of the Jâts and Mahrattas again collected, and annoyed the nominal emperor. The Rohilla protector contended with these for a time, as he best might, fighting at one time, and bribing at another,

till the battle of Buxar, in which Sujah ut Dowlah, of Oude, the vizier, was overthrown by British force, in a quarrel which was not the emperor's, and the emperor himself sought and found protection, and a pension, from the British,—and, from that period, the influence of his name, whatever of it might be left, was transferred to them and their interests.

We have thought it necessary to give this condensed sketch of the conduct and fate of the Asiatic power in India, with more minuteness than we can afford to some other parts of the subject, because, though it be not the portion that lies nearest to the future, it is the one from which the most certain conclusions can be drawn, with regard to how far it might be possible to form the inhabitants of India, while they are in the condition in which they have always hitherto been, or in any other that has much similarity to that, into any thing like one permanent empire, governed by persons born in the country, of what nation soever they may originally be.

That they could never maintain, or even originate, one general and powerful state under Hindû rulers, is already negatived by the pages of history. We have heard of kingdoms; and under some of the more enterprising of these rajahs, these may have occasionally been of cona

siderable extent. But though they have been despotisms, they appear to have been feudal rather than regal. The pressure laid upon the body of the people seems always to have been the full maximum of what they could bear,—and that is always greater under a feudal than under a regal despotism; but wherever the kingdoms have been united, they have been found to consist of a number of chieftainships, very nearly independent, the one of which could always, without any great difficulty, be excited against the other. The native wars have always had a marauding character,—plunder, and not even glory, far less justice, has been always the prominent motive both with the leaders and the troops; and therefore we may conclude, that if the Hindûs were left to themselves, it would still be the mountains preying upon the valleys, and sometimes one valley preying upon another. It will afterwards be seen, to some extent at least, how this almost necessarily arises out of the division of the Hindûs into castes. The ranks that are produced by the accidents of life in other societies, sometimes do mischief: and yet they are always founded upon something that can be understood, whether it be thought right or not. The distinctions which, in a rude age, are given by greater strength and courage, and those which

talents, and place, and honour, and wealth, confer, when society is a little more advanced, are all founded in nature, and they are all useful as stimuli to other people, when the possessors have not the power of abusing them, —which, by the way, they have been very apt to do, in all ages, when left to themselves. But when, not only without any of those natural distinctions, but absolutely in opposition to them, one man is so superior to another, that the other would pollute him by his very presence, there is really no preventing the general character from being both silly and vicious.

When we look at the fate of the Mahomedans, in all their succession of races, from Mahomet of Ghizni to the Sultan Baber, the prospect is not much more encouraging. Most of them were enlightened men, and all of them were, at first, able men, as compared with the great body of mankind about them. Their governments were not governments of mere force, but were founded in justice; for, though Timur himself certainly was “a Tartar,” in the broadest vulgar meaning of the term, there is a wonderful quantity of good sense and knowledge of human nature, as well as of sound principles of justice and equity, in the “Institutes of Government” which he has left upon record. The founders of the dynasties were, in fact, all



brilliant men—the foremost men of their respective times, in accomplishments, and learning, as well as in ambition and bravery, of all Asia; and we question if there were any superior to them in Europe at those times—or that there are many such even now. But all the races fell off, and fell off very rapidly; and those that came the latest fell off the fastest, which would tempt one to suppose that the first had been really the best; or that India has been becoming less and less fit for being a great state governed by persons born in the country, be they sprung from what nation they may. We have seen how the very extent of the Mogul power and conquest by Aurungzebe tended to raise up an enemy different from any with which his predecessors had had to contend; and it is not difficult to see how the structure of Hindû society must have co-operated in the raising up of that enemy. The Maharattas did not come, by the ordinary rate at which a people increase, from the small horde that were in the Western Ghauts in the middle of the seventeenth century, to the vast swarms which, in the middle of the eighteenth, threatened to monopolize all power in India, and would have done so if they had kept out of the plain of Delhi, and possibly notwithstanding that, if it had not been for the English. The numbers that they lost in battles

were equal to the original race, with all that we could calculate upon as their natural descendants, many times over; and, therefore, if they had not been constantly supplied by those who had violated caste, or become disgusted with the slavery of it—and these, though, perhaps, not the best, are likely to have been the bravest and most daring portion of the people,—the Maharattas would have been extinct long enough before the time of what is called the Maharatta war. As long, therefore, as the present structure of society continues, so long must there be, with any thing like a general native empire, a constant production of people like the Maharattas, whatever name they may appear under. Taking this and the other proofs that naturally arise out of the history of India, we may safely lay it down as a conclusion, “That there can be no general government in India, unless that government constantly recruit its vitality and its strength from some other country, which is not affected by those restrictions which render society nothing in India; and that, before any such government can exist, the structure of society must undergo a change, which, looking at the past, there are no very strong grounds to hope for in India.”

Those who talk about governing and government, without knowing what they say, or, at

least, what they should say, are very apt to speak about shepherds, and flocks, and the pastoral care of kings; and these words are very complimentary and pretty. But the people must be the dogs as well as the sheep, otherwise the wolf is sure to come, and to make his very first mess of the shepherd. The government is necessary, just in the same way that the balance of a watch is; but, like that, it only regulates the motion, and instead of producing any, it consumes a part of that which is produced by the spring. The governments of which we have traced the succession in India, have had to be both spring and balance, and, therefore, they have never gone regularly or long. Those conclusions, or rather the facts from which they are drawn, furnish another element toward a right understanding of the India question.

In every point of view in which India can be considered, either with reference to government or to trade, the conclusion ought to be drawn from the country itself. Every way it is so different from Europe, that no European argument can be made to bear upon it; and it appears that the chief cause of the parliamentary and other blunders that have been committed respecting it, has been in treating it as if it had been a European subject. Even in the lowest of western states there is some attachment of the

people to their country, and also to their government; but the facts have shown, that there is nothing of the kind in India; and while that continues to be the case, it must be impossible to treat India in any way resembling Europe. Hence, we may repeat, though the conduct of Europeans, and more especially the English, be an important part of the history of India, it is not the part by which the future disposal of that country should be regulated.

## CHAPTER III.

## EUROPEAN POWERS IN INDIA.



BOMBAY.

WE come now to a branch of the subject which is of a more discursive nature, and for the illustration of which there are far more abundant materials—enough, indeed, to furnish reading for life to one who is not a very

voracious devourer of books, and which one would need to live that life over again before he could very fully or clearly understand. The chief cause of this perplexity is, that the evidence is all on the one side—letting us know how Europeans have felt toward the Hindûs, but not how the Hindûs have felt toward Europeans. There are also some minor perplexities, such as that one man has written to make a point for a party, and another has written to make a book ; but these are light and manageable matters as compared with the others.

There are one or two preliminary considerations which it is necessary to bear in mind. When one examines the transactions of Europeans in the East, from first to last, their general motive has been to make as much of India as ever they could, and return with that to Europe; and though there have been periodical modifications, according as the spirit of Europeans has been dark or illuminated, and also differences arising from the characters of individuals, and the views of those by whom they have been employed ; yet we suspect that the most generally accurate assertion is, that whatever he may have professed or pretended, no European ever doubled the promontory of Southern Africa with the hope of benefiting India highest in his mind. The two extremes may have been, in-



deed they have been, to get the wealth of India by any means, and to get it by such means as, instead of diminishing or destroying, would increase the chance of getting more. The first of these was the plan with all the early visitants of remote countries; and as the last should have been the plan with the East India Company, even since they became permanent sovereigns, it is but fair, in the mean time, to suppose that it may have been their motive. And yet, though it may have been the habitual motive of the Company (and one does not see very clearly how it could in any accordance with their characters as merchants have been that) it is not easy to see by what sort of process they could make the active part of it the habit of their servants. If the principle of love of country in England, where, by common parlance, the people have so much love of country, and so good reason for having it—if the love of country, here, has not been at all times sufficient to restrain the servants of the public from studying and following their own interests, to the neglect of, or in opposition to, the interests of the public, by what miracle can we suppose that public servants in India, where there is no love of country whatever, shall be uniformly pure? If people will job a little under the green tree of England, where

the bones of their fathers rest, and where their own are speedily to be gathered, can we, with reason, hope for a total absence of all jobbing in men who, panting under the burning sun, and pained with hepatic twinges that can turn the honey of human nature into gall, and who are all the while looking athwart a quadrant of the globe to this same England, as the place that is to reward them when the day of their absence has gone by,—nay, who not only do this, but who actually fling an equal die for a wealthy old age with death himself? Either man must change his nature when he changes the hemisphere, or the constant object of all who are sent thither from England, must be to make what they can for themselves, without any regard to what may be the consequences to the Hindû; and the motive to do this is so very strong, that no mandate of a Court of Directors, Board of Controul, or anything else that has to travel fifteen thousand miles, can have much effect. It will be seen from the outline of this portion of Indian history, that we might have arrived at some such doctrine as that now stated, by an induction from particular facts. But the personal character which such an induction would have assumed, is avoided by this statement *à priori*; and when we can ground

an argument upon the general principles of human nature, it is always the most powerful as well as the most pleasant.

In order that our outline of the conduct of the maritime nations, or those who have visited India (upon their first visit at least) for commercial purposes, may be complete, it will be necessary to draw the line from what may be regarded as the beginning,—that is, not from the commencement of the intercourse itself, but from the earliest records that have come down to us. Now the earliest people of whom we have any accounts, as carrying on an extended commerce, are the Phœnicians, whose chief city, Tyre, was the emporium of the world. Though that city was situated upon the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians had ports in the land of Idumea, toward the Red Sea, from which their vessels coasted all the way to India, for it does not appear that, in those very early times, the value of the monsoons was understood. At first the merchandize, both of export and import, appears to have been carried by land all the way from the Red Sea to Tyre; but they subsequently got possession of El Arisch, at that time called Rhinocerera, which shortened the land carriage; and that continued to be the principal route for Indian commerce, till, upon the destruction of Tyre by

Alexander, the emporium was transferred to Alexandria.

Strabo, indeed, mentions four routes, by which commerce was carried on between India and the Mediterranean,—two that were, for a considerable part of the way, maritime; and two which, though there was a good deal of water carriage, were inland. The first was that by the Red Sea, as already mentioned; the second was by the Persian gulf, and though the land carriage was much greater than by the first, the line was shorter. The inland routes were much more intricate; and their length and the hardships to which those who followed them must have been subjected, are proofs of the great value that was set upon the productions and commerce of India. The centre of the Indian trade was Tatta, or Pattala, as it was then called, at the mouth of the Indus. They ascended that river as far as it continued navigable; and then they landed, formed a caravan, and crossed the mountains to the north, till they found the Jihon, or Oxus, navigable, when they again embarked on that river. As far as the point at which the Jihon approaches nearest to the Tedjen, or Ochus, the two inland routes were the same. But at that point they separated into a central, and a northern one. The central proceeded by a caravan westward to the

Tedjen, descended that river to the Caspian sea, crossed the Caspian, ascended the Kur, or Cyrus, passed the mountains, and descended the Rioni, or Pharis, to the Black Sea. By the northern route, the navigation was carried down the Jihon, to the lake of Aral, and across that lake to the point where it approaches nearest to the Caspian Sea; then by a caravan to the Caspian, where the navigation was resumed, and continued as far up the Volga as its nearest approach to the Don. Another caravan brought them to the Don; and thence the navigation was continuous by the Sea of Azof to the Black Sea, as before. From the length of those routes, the many difficulties and dangers by the way, and the interruptions to which the caravans were liable from the commotions of the countries through which they had to pass, this commerce was exceedingly expensive, and must have been confined to the most precious commodities. But the intercourse which was thus carried on across the centre of Asia, may probably account for some of those similarities that can be traced between the languages of India, and some of those of the west.

When Alexandria was founded, the trade by the Red Sea increased; but there is no ground for believing that a direct voyage from the

strait of Babel Mandel to the Indian coast was made before the time of the Romans, who found out the time and direction of the monsoons, and took advantage of them. That occasioned a very considerable increase in the trade with India; and though the details are not very clearly given, and the towns with which they traded were generally upon the west coast of India, it is not improbable that some of them doubled Cape Comorin, if they did not even reach the commercial city of Pali-brotha, upon the Ganges. Besides Pattala, or Tatta, on the Indus, the principal superior rivers in India were Bragyza, Barigasha, or Broach, on the Nerbudda, and Musiris, or Mergee, the situation of which is not quite so well known. One can hardly suppose it to have been Mergui in Tenasserim, though the commodities would suit that place, and the monsoons may have wafted the Red Sea ships across the Bay of Bengal. Alexandria continued to be the grand centre of the India trade, till it fell into the hands of the Saracens, in the seventh century; and while they held sway in Egypt, the trade shifted into the northern climates, and Constantinople became the centre of it. This suspension continued while the power of the Saracens lasted; but when, about the middle of the thirteenth cen-



ture, the Mamelukes obtained power in Egypt, the trade revived ; and the trade of India was both a source of wealth and a subject of contention to the rival states of Genoa and Venice ; the latter of whom enjoyed the whole of the trade, for which they paid a handsome tribute to the Sultan of Egypt, at the time when the Portuguese discovered and doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

The Portuguese had for more than half a century persevered in pushing discovery along the west coast of Africa ; and the first European keel that divided the waters of the Indian ocean, was that which bore the admiral Vasco de Gama to Calicut, on the Malabar coast, on the twenty-second day of May, 1498. At that time the fortunes of the Mahomedan sovereigns of India were low ; the whole country south of the central hills, as well as Bengal and Bahar, had thrown off their yoke, and that yoke had not yet been extended to southern India. It does not appear that the western shores of the Bay of Bengal had been much visited by the early navigators, and the cause is perhaps chiefly to be found in the difficulty of landing, and the want of natural harbours. The eastern shores of the Arabian or Erythrean Sea were the parts chiefly visited ; and when de Gama arrived, that part of the country was divided

into two kingdoms. Cambay, from Bombay northward, and Zamora, from the same point southward; and as the Baragyza of the ancients was in the one of these kingdoms, it is not improbable that Musiris had been in the other. Cambay, however, and not Broach, was the capital of the northern kingdom, and Calicut, where de Gama landed, the capital of the southern. No mention is made, in the very earliest accounts, of any kingdom upon the coast, from Cape Comorin to the Sunderbunds; but some are noticed on the opposite shores of the bay, and the names still are in so far applied to them. Rekhaing, or Arracan, extended from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Negrais; Pegu occupied the country from Cape Negrais eastward to the bottom of the bight at Martaban; and Siam the country southward to about Mergui, where the Malay Peninsula commenced. So far as we have the means of judging, those kingdoms, especially the two on the west coast of India, appear to have been a sort of feudal states, made up of petty principalities, the rulers of which were independent in their own dominions. They were at least as far advanced in the arts, and certainly a great deal more wealthy, than the native inhabitants of the same coast are now.

Calicut was a place of great trade, and

thronged by Moorish merchants from the Red Sea, and other parts of the Arabian shores. The king of Zamora showed every disposition to enter into a commercial treaty with de Gama, but the Mahomedans prevented it; so that he returned to Europe with only an account of the discovery that he had made. Cabral then sailed for India; but met with the same fortune at Calicut as his predecessor. Finding, however, that the princes of Cochin to the south, and Cananore to the north of Calicut, were inclined to throw off all dependence upon the king of Zamora, he leagued with them, and thus got the command of all that part of the coast, so as soon to command the whole trade. In 1508, Albuquerque the Great arrived with a strong reinforcement of Portuguese; and as he was a man of great talents, as well as great ambition, their arms under him became powerful. He not only took and burned the capital of Zamora, and many other places on the west coast, but he extended his attacks to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, and to Malacca, in the eastern Peninsula,—the latter yielding to his arms in 1511. Goa, which at that time belonged to the Mahomedan sovereign of the Deccan, cost Albuquerque more trouble, as he was starved out of it, and forced on board his ships, after he had obtained possession. But

in 1510 it was retaken by him, strongly fortified, and became the principal seat of the Portuguese power in India; and the whole commerce of that part of India was under Portuguese controul. The conquests made by Albuquerque were extended and rapid, but he died in the midst of them, after he had been about seven years in India, and had in that period raised the power of his country to the greatest height that it ever attained in the east, though the dominions of the nation continued for a time to increase. When we contrast their proceedings upon the Indian seas and shores with those of the Mahomedan conquerors on the land, Europeans gain little honour. They were plunderers, spoilers, and bigots on land, and pirates at sea. They commanded all the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, destroyed every ship they found on the seas, plundered indiscriminately, insulted the princes, destroyed the temples, and murdered or tortured the people, as the best way of promulgating the doctrines of Christianity. But while they spoiled others, they quarrelled among themselves; and though other events had not hastened the decline and destruction of their power, their own violence and bad management must soon have put an end to it. In the early part of their career, an Egyptian fleet had been sent against them at

the instigation of the Venitians, and had been joined by the king of Cambay; but they had triumphed over that. De Castro laboured hard to introduce a better state of things—but he did not succeed; and a number of the hundred and fifty princes whom they had made tributary combined against them. The arrival of a reinforcement from Portugal prevented these from succeeding; but the union of Portugal with Spain in 1580, caused the reinforcements to be stopped, and the downfall of their power in India was more speedy than its rise.

That union also put an end to the trade in the commodities of India which the Dutch had carried on from Portugal to the rest of Europe; and they began to turn their attention to the obtaining of a trade of their own directly with the East. Their first attempt was to reach China by the north of Asia, a project which was also attempted by the English; but in that they were, of course, unsuccessful. Houtman, who has left one monument of his name, in a dangerous reef upon the west coast of New Holland, was at that time a prisoner for debt in Lisbon, and found means to intimate to his countrymen that, if they would procure him his liberation, he would conduct a Dutch armament to the Indian seas. His proposal was accepted; and four Dutch ships, under Hout-

man, sailed for the Indian seas in 1594. The first force that the Dutch sent out was nothing; in comparison with that which the Portuguese already had in the country; and the latter had the advantage in local knowledge, and also in favour with the native princes, though it is not easy to see what claim they had to that, other than dread that their conduct might be even more cruel than it had hitherto been. It may have been, indeed, that the Dutch were even more harsh than the Portuguese; for, though they have never displayed the bigotry which has actuated the Portuguese and Spaniards, and butchered the natives whom they visited, under the pretence of serving Heaven, they have evinced fully as much cold-blooded cruelty as any other people. The Dutch had, however, many advantages over their rivals; they were a new and a rising people, with the spirit which the establishment of their independence had called forth still strong upon them; they were in the full excitement of desire for the riches of the East, while the Portuguese were satiated with those riches, and had all the vices and weaknesses that are inseparable from the possession of great wealth obtained by dishonourable means; and while the Dutch were regularly reinforced from Europe, the Portuguese were, after the union with Spain, treated with great



and intentional neglect. So assiduous were the Dutch, that in less than eighty years from the time that Houtman first sailed from Rotterdam, they possessed all the ports and places at which the Portuguese had been established, with the exception of Goa, Macao in the Canton river, and one or two trifling places, and had besides formed settlements on the Coromandel coast.

But the Dutch were not the only nation that was stimulated by the advantages of the Indian trade, or, perhaps, in those times, it would be as near the truth to say, the Indian plunder. As early as 1527, when the Portuguese power was at its height, a representation was made to Henry VIII. by Robert Thorne, who had obtained some knowledge of the subject while residing at Seville. It does not appear that the representation had much effect upon the king, whose attention was engaged about matters of a different kind ; but the desires of the nation were excited : and as the horrors of the Cape and the power of the Portuguese together were supposed to render the southward passage impracticable, the north-east and north-west were tried with much assiduity. The attempts in the north-east were signally disastrous, only that they opened a communication with Archangel, which laid the foundation of the Russian

trade; and though those who directed their attention to the north-west made some important additions to geography, they, of course, failed in the grand object of their enterprize. At last, in 1577, Drake, having passed the Straits of Magellan, marauded along the west coast of America; stood across the Pacific; visited the Oriental Archipelago; had some friendly intercourse with the princes of the Spice Islands, to whom the character and conduct of the Portuguese had by this time become intolerable; returned by the Cape of Good Hope; touched at Sierra Leone; and, finally, after an absence of about two years and ten months, arrived at Plymouth, fourteen years previous to the sailing of the Dutch squadron under Houtman. The success of this adventure, the largest vessel in which was only one hundred tons, produced a great sensation in the country, and roused numbers to emulation. Cavendish followed Drake; like him, passed the Straits of Magellan, and plundered the western shore of Spanish America. Taking a higher latitude in the Pacific than his predecessor, he reached the Philippines; thence he proceeded for the Ladrones and Spice Islands, and returned to England by the Cape. Though there are abundant traces of cruelty both to the Spaniards and to the "savages," in the account of this

voyage, yet Cavendish appears to have been a man of much observation, and to have collected a good deal of knowledge, the circulation of which still more excited the people of England.

That excitement was increased by other causes. Some homeward-bound Portuguese Indiamen were captured, one in particular of sixteen hundred tons burden, and laden with the richest productions of the East. Some members of the Turkey Company, who had previously brought the produce of the East from Aleppo, resolved to visit India in person. Travelling over-land to Bagdad, they descended the Tigris, and sailed for Goa; thence they passed into the Mogul territories,—Acbar being then upon the throne, and travelling in the interior safe. They visited the court of Agra, and the city of Lahore; and then bending their course eastwards, they traversed Bengal and the eastern peninsula as far as Malacca, whence they returned to Ormus by sea,—by their former route to Aleppo,—and so to England, carrying with them a knowledge of the interior, in addition to what had been previously known of the coasts. These parties, of whom some set out about 1583, and others again about 1596, had letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Mogul Emperor; and they were upon both

occasions courteously received by Acbar. Indeed, it appears to have been the fault of the Europeans themselves that ever they were ill received at any court, or excluded from any port or place, in the East; for wherever they went in a proper manner, they were treated with the confidence of friends. Even the cautious Chinese readily admitted the first Portuguese mission to the court of Pékin, and granted them a settlement on Macao; and it was only because they were thieves, that they were ever excluded from, or ill-treated in, any country of the East.

In 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted an exclusive charter to a company of merchants in London, to trade with all countries between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, with power to export bullion, and to export and import goods duty free. The name which this company assumed was nearly the same as that which the East India Company still retains; the exclusive privileges that the charter gave them were absolute; and some of those which they adopted among themselves, were at least singular, it being one of the original regulations that there should be *no gentleman* connected with the Company. But though the charter was thus exclusive, as regarded the power of other persons to trade with India, that caution, which was a principal

characteristic in most of the measures of Elizabeth's ministers, still left it under the controul of the state. The charter was granted only for fifteen years ; and even within that period, if found not advantageous to the country, it might be put an end to, upon two years' notice.

The spice trade being the principal object of this company, their first adventures were made to Sumatra, Malacca, and the Spice Islands ; and the profits of the trade were very great,—never under one hundred, and sometimes more than two hundred per cent. advance on the capital. But the manufactures of India were in request as well as the products of the islands, and the articles brought there from China and Japan ; and so it was suggested, that a country trade should be established between Sumatra and Surat or Cambay, and also the Coromandel coast, the cotton fabrics of which were the most profitable goods to exchange for the produce of the Spice Islands.

The ships of the Company, who, from their success and profits, had become rather formidable in the Arabian seas, had given some annoyance to those of the Mogul ; and James, in 1611, sent out four ships, with a mission to that sovereign. These ships were assailed by a Portuguese armament near Surat ; but that was beaten off, and the maritime power of the

English thereby established. The intrigues of the Portuguese had no better success. A factory was obtained at Surat, and other subordinate ones were erected along the west coast; and they obtained a factory at Masulipatam, on the east coast, for the convenience of the trade in cotton stuffs.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe went on a mission to the Emperor of Ajmeer, and obtained a confirmation of the former firman; and about the same time, similar privileges were granted to the Company by the King of Zamora. Their trade was now widely ramified in India. Under Surat they had factories at Ahmedabad, Ajmeer, Broach, and Bradna, in the Mogul dominions, and at Cranganore and Calicut, in those of the Zamorin; but, taught by the example of the Portuguese and Dutch, the settlements were made strictly commercial; they were not allowed to fortify their factories, or to exercise any civil or military jurisdiction over the natives.

The Company had, in 1609, obtained from James an extension of their charter for ever, with only a power in the state to annul it upon three years' notice, if it should not be found beneficial to the country; and upon the strength of this new charter, they had, in 1512, changed the Company, from a regulated one, in which



each engaged as he pleased for a particular adventure, to a joint stock, in which the whole business was under a governor and directors. This change increased the power of the Company to combat with their enemies in the Indian seas; but it on that account, as well as by destroying the exertions of individuals, tended to reduce their profits as merchants. They were almost immediately embroiled in hostilities with the Dutch company. In 1622, their first act of sovereignty was displayed in joining with the Persians to attack and expel the Portuguese from the Island of Ormus. They furnished the marine, and with their Persian allies, defeated the Portuguese, got half the plunder of Ormus, and half the customs at the port of Gambroon, which were the first legal plunder and the first revenue that they received in the East. They were not, however, allowed to pocket the whole: the King, and Buckingham, the lord high admiral, put in their claim for *droits*; and, whether the King got any thing or not, the admiral certainly did receive ten thousand pounds.

The contest between the Dutch and the English continued; and as the former were at that time by far the more powerful, the expulsion of the English from the Spice Islands, was accompanied by what has been called the

massacre of Amboyna. Upon this occasion there was a great deal of public wrath, and angry writing and remonstrance on the part of the officers of the crown; to all which the Dutch replied, by declaring, that the property and government of the Spice Islands were theirs, but that they would allow the English to depart peaceably.

The fortunes of the Company had waxed very low in consequence of their political disputes, and the continued efforts of the Dutch to harass them, even after the latter had regained sole occupation of the Spice Islands. This annoyance became so great about the year 1740, that the English obtained permission from the native chief to erect Fort St. George, at Madraspatam, on the coast of the Carnatic. The court of Delhi soon after gave them permission to trade to Peplay, in Orissa, and to Hoogly, from which they had subordinate branches to other parts of Bengal; so that at a time when their affairs were comparatively at a low ebb, they laid the foundation of that branch of their connexion which ultimately gave them the power of all India.

The affairs of the Company at home had, in the mean time, been getting not a little perplexed. The King had granted licenses to others, and even, as is said, taken a share in

the adventure himself. The licenses were, after a great deal of negociation, agreed to be withdrawn, if the Company would form a new stock, and carry on the trade to the proper extent. In the raising of the new stock they were not to any large extent successful; and as Charles purchased their stock of pepper on bonds (which were never paid), in order to sell it again, for cash, they were in a worse condition than before. After the formation, or, perhaps, we should say, the attempted formation, of several separate joint stocks—yet all under the same controul, and with some difference of management, their affairs went on rather languishingly, and their factory at Surat was taken and plundered more than once by Sivajee, the founder of the Maharatta power. The first occurrence that tended to relieve their affairs, was the possession of the island of Bombay, which Charles II. had received as part of the portion of Catherine, the Infanta of Portugal, and which, as the easiest way of getting rid of it, he gave to the Company in 1688. This was a place that they could consider as their own property; it was strong, and, therefore, they could resist both the Moguls and the Maharattas. This was a rallying point, and those who had the management of the Com-

pany did not wait long before they tried to turn it to advantage.

In the affair with the Persians against the Portuguese, they had tasted the advantages that resulted from the Oriental mode of rule, though they had found that they could not follow that course with Europeans generally—and even if they could, the claim of the *droits* might again be set up. Therefore they looked for power in another quarter, power over Englishmen in India, and power over the natives. The discourses of Sir Josiah Child upon trade, had given a fresh impulse to the nation of the value of Indian commerce. But the first measure that enabled them to get the sovereign power which they sought, was an insurrection at Bombay, the commandant having declared that he held that island for the King. The Company got the power of keeping their own servants in subjection, and of defending themselves. So they removed the seat of their western government to Bombay; and prepared to contend with Aurungzebe himself. But the Maharattas, upon whom they had relied for assistance, were scattered on the coast; and they had to sue for peace, both on the west of India and in Bengal. When the native princes had begun to rebel against the emperor, the Com-

pany's agents got permission to fortify Calcutta, to which they had recently retired, just in order that they might not be taken by surprise by the rebellious Hindûs.

Aurungzebe, too, confirmed the grant that had been made to them of Tignipatam, on the coast of the Carnatic, on which they built Fort St. David's, so that they now had fortified stations on both coasts, and also in Bengal.

About the year 1698, they bribed Azim, the grandson of Aurungzebe, who was then Viceroy of Bengal, to grant them the villages of Calcutta, Chuttannuttee, and Gorindpoor, which lay contiguous to each other, with judicial power over the inhabitants; and that may be considered as the first sovereignty that the Company had in India.

Though first the Portuguese and then the Dutch had been the principal rivals of the English in the trade with India, they were not the only ones. As early as 1601, the French had formed a company; but the adventure was not profitable. Again, in 1633, they fitted out an armament, that attempted to establish itself first at Surat, and then at Trincomalee; but they failed in both, and did not make a fourth attempt till 1672, when they took by storm St. Thome, an old Portuguese town, then in the possession of the King of Golconda. Two years afterwards

the place was taken by the King of Golconda and the Dutch together, and retained by the former ; but the French established themselves in Pondicherry, where a small tract was ceded to them. These were but small beginnings, and yet they are worthy of notice ; because, if the power which the French acquired on the Coromandel coast was not the cause, it was the immediate occasion of the military power of the English in India. The hostile attitude in which these two nations had, with a measure of folly, that seems full enough to reflecting minds at the present day, and will be a perfect marvel to posterity, deemed it absolutely necessary to stand in respect to each other, was carried to India ; matters which ought never to have been any thing more than the jealousies of merchants, assumed a national character ; and battles, of which the real sources were in Europe, were fought upon the soil of India. As early, indeed, as the time at which their positions on the west coast were assailed by Aurungzebe, the Company had not only felt a desire of sovereign power in India ; but had expressed it in the instructions which they sent to their agents,—putting them in mind of the conduct of the Dutch, with whom war and government had been the chief objects, and commerce only a secondary one. From the commencement of



the civil war, however, the Company had not been in great favour either with the parliament or the people. There were several causes that tended to heighten this dislike. Private adventurers were sent out to India; their ships were taken by the Company, and the crews tried at Bombay; and though the execution was stayed till the pleasure of the King should be known, sentence of death was passed upon them as pirates. The twelve judges had decided in favour of the Company upon their charter; and they set the law of England at defiance,—Sir Josiah Child, in his letters to the Governor of Bombay, describing the laws of England as “a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly know how to make laws for the good of their own private families.” A committee of the House of Commons, in 1690, recommended the establishment of a new Company; and in the following year the house addressed the King to the same effect. The King could not contend with parliament; even though he had been so disposed; and therefore the only means left for the Company was bribery, on which they, in the course of the year 1693 alone, expended ninety thousand pounds. By the influence of their bribes in the Privy Council, the Company obtained a renewal of their charter for twenty-five

years, and at the same time their capital was made a million and a half, or very nearly double its former amount. The parliament declared the trade of all the world free to Englishmen, unless they were restrained by its act. Thus the Company and the nation were set in opposition to each other ; and the former was reduced to all manner of tricks and pretences.

Meanwhile the trade was in a very reduced state. The seas were infested with pirates ; the Company's establishments were in debt ; and the extent and profit of their commerce were both diminished. This state of things continued till the year 1698, when the House of Commons, acting upon their former recommendation, introduced a bill for the establishment of a rival Company. It enacted that the old Company was to cease in three years, and that the estates of the shareholders should pay their debts. The new Company was to have a stock of two millions, to be exclusive like the other, but they were not to accumulate more debts than the amount of their stock, and that if they received any dividends while the debts remained unpaid, their private fortunes should be responsible. This new association, under the name of the " English Company," as distinguished from the old or London Company, obtained a charter forming it into a joint stock.

The construction of this new Company was not a very brilliant piece of legislation; and while, in trading along with the old Company during the three years that they were to exist, it was not very just toward them, it was a repetition of their system, hardly altered in anything but the name: it showed that in as far as making laws for the regulation of commerce was concerned, the theory of Sir Josiah Child was not altogether unfounded. The most absurd part of the whole was the loan of the whole capital to government, although the fact of the debt and embarrassment of the old Company was before them. This was, no doubt, the price which the Company paid for its existence; but it was buying a name and paying the reality for it. Another thing: the new Company was really two: there being one charter for an open Company, and one for a joint stock. The conduct of the two Companies toward each other in India, was well calculated for degrading and ruining both, and their stocks fell very low. In 1700, the King advised them to unite; but the old Company, who by this time had got their settlements in India fortified, and were looking forward to political power and reverence in that country, were evasive, and the affairs of both became worse. The two Companies formed a sort of union in 1702;

but it was anything but cordial. In 1708, a demand by government of one million two hundred thousand pounds, without interest, united them more closely, by adjusting their differences, and forming them into one Company.

About this time they began to be a good deal annoyed by the native princes. While the imperial power was in full vigour, the factories and little spots occupied by "the idolaters of Europe," as Ferishta called them, excited but little attention; but when the empire of Aurungzebe fell to pieces, and the Nabob of Bengal became nearly independent, he annoyed the settlement at Calcutta. They therefore sent an embassy to Ferokehere, at Delhi, praying to be permitted to carry on trade, duty free, through the provinces; to have debtors given up to them; and to purchase thirty-seven towns round Calcutta. The last was refused; but the others were, at least to a considerable extent, granted—in gratitude, it is said, for a cure which a surgeon of the name of Hamilton had performed upon the emperor. This gave them the country trade on the Ganges, which increased rapidly.

For more than thirty years the trade of the Company continued to increase, and there did not occur any general act that had much in-

fluence one way or another. To please the Emperor they had given up Surat ; but, besides Bombay, they had settlements on the coasts of Concan, Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, on the west ; at Madras, and other parts of the east coast, and at Calcutta. The French had Pondicherry, to the south of Madras, and Chandernagore, on the right bank of the Hoogly, about sixteen miles above Calcutta. It is probable that the French used every art they could to make the English stand ill in favour with the Nabob of Bengal, the more so after that prince had, in 1740, ceased to remit any tribute to the imperial treasury at Delhi. In the Carnatic, the French began to take part in the contests of the natives, and the war of the succession in Europe led to the first direct hostility between the two nations in India.

In 1746, Labourdonnais, a sailor of fortune, who had been governor of Bourbon and Mauritias, and greatly improved those islands, as well as otherwise distinguished himself, appeared with a French force off Madras. The English settlement then extended about five miles along the coast, and one mile inland, and contained about a quarter of a million of inhabitants, of whom not above three hundred were English. The part of the town occupied by the poorer natives, was not fortified at all ;

that occupied by the Armenian and other Asiatic merchants, was badly fortified; and that occupied by the English not very much better. The French commander began to bombard the English town, and a ransom was offered, but not accepted. After five days it capitulated; and the public magazines and stores were taken possession of, but the inhabitants were not molested. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, was as remarkable for manœuvring as Labourdonnais was for openness of character, and had, under promise that Madras, as soon as it was taken from the English, should be given up to the Nabob of Carnatic, prevailed upon that prince to abstain from assisting the English. The French armament remained till it was overtaken by the monsoon, and forced to leave the coast, without taking on board one thousand two hundred French troops, that had been disciplined by Labourdonnais. Either despising so small a number, or not aware of their being there, the nabob came with a numerous army to take possession. But his army was, to his utter astonishment, beaten, by what seemed but a handful of men—and that showed at once, that by the help of even comparatively small armies of Europeans, territory and political power might easily be obtained in India.



The governor of Pondicherry immediately violated the terms which Labourdonnais had given the people of Madras, plundered the place, and carried off the principal inhabitants as prisoners. Next he attempted to reduce Fort St. David, but the English obtained the assistance of the country people and the nabob, and he failed in several attempts. An armament arrived from England, and marched to take Pondicherry, by way of reprisal for the capture of Madras; but the enterprise was badly conducted, and failed chiefly through ignorance of the nature of the country. Each of the two nations had now some military force in the Carnatic; and it was not difficult to find occasion for putting these into play, at a time when there were so many disturbances among the native powers in India.

Of these, the French were the beginners on a great scale, though the English had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to set up a protégé of theirs in the rajahship of Tanjore. The Nabob of Carnatic, Anwara ad dein, had been appointed by the Nizam of the Deccan; but Chunda Saheb, a relation of the former nabob, was the favourite of the inhabitants. The Nizam died in 1748, at a still more advanced age than his old master Aurungzebe, and his son Nazir, and grandson, Murzapha,

contended for the throne. Murzapha, Chunda Saheb, the pretender to the nabobship of Carnatic, and the crafty Dupliex of Pondicherry, made common cause on the one side; and Nazir, the reigning nabob, and the English, made common cause on the other.

Restrained, probably, by their want of success in the case of the Rajah of Tanjore, the English did not at first enter into the contest. Murzapha and Chunda Saheb advanced into the Carnatic, with an army of forty thousand men, to whom the French added more than two thousand more, four hundred of whom were Europeans. They found the veteran nabob in an entrenched camp, near Arcot, which the French stormed; at the last of three attempts, the nabob was killed, in his one hundred and seventh year, his eldest son taken prisoner, and Mahomed Ali, the youngest, fled with the remains of the army to Trichinopoly. The confederates did not immediately follow up their victory; and the arrival of a British mission in the camp of Nazir, prevented the influence which the French governor was attempting to gain over him. That prince marched into the Carnatic, summoned Mahomed Ali and the English to join him; and when the combined armies were near each other, the desertion of some French officers induced the French to withdraw: and

on the following day, Murzapha yielded to his uncle, and Chunda Saheb retired to Pondicherry, leaving Nazir master of the country.

But Dupliex corrupted the Patan bands, who composed the most formidable part of Nazir's army; while the French general made inroads into his very camp; and the English left it in disgust. The schemes of the Frenchman were successful, and Nazir was assassinated. Murzapha being now sovereign of the Deccan, appointed Dupliex his deputy on all the coast from the Krishna to Cape Comorin; and he again appointed Chunda Saheb deputy for Arcot. Murzapha was killed in quelling a mutiny of his Patans, and as his son was a mere child, Dupliex had complete power in the Decan, except where that country was in the hands of the Maharattas, and the small portions held by the English and by Mahomed Ali at Trichinopoly. The fortunes of the English were at this time very low: they were divided, and so disheartened, that when they ought to have given Chunda Saheb battle, the Europeans fled from the field; the army of Mahomed Ali was driven out of the Carnatic, and there appeared to be little left for the English but to follow.

At this time, however, there came into notice one of those characters which, from the most unpromising beginnings, often change the fates

of nations, and who, unfortunately for the rest of mankind, excited our wonder more than our esteem. That man was Robert Clive, who, probably, on account of his being quite unmanageable at home, was sent out to Madras, as a writer. In his civil capacity he made little progress—he was too restless and turbulent for that; but when he escaped from Madras, he was allowed to enter the army, in which he evinced the most daring intrepidity and the greatest coolness. When the siege of Pondicherry was raised, he returned to his writing; but in the extremity to which the English were reduced at Trichinopoly, he was again employed, and by the daring and decisive nature of his movements, almost immediately turned the fortune of the war. With only five hundred men, he took Arcot, and carried on a successful war against more than five thousand, whom he scattered. Mahomed Ali upon this again made his appearance, and obtaining from the neighbouring states about twenty-five thousand men, and a reinforcement arriving from England, Chunda Saheb was attacked, routed, and murdered.

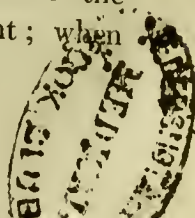
But though Mahomed Ali had beaten his enemies, his allies were not yet settled with. He had promised Trichinopoly to the King of Mysore, and the captain of the Maharattas who were with him wanted it also. The fort

of Trichinopoly was garrisoned by an English force ; but both the Mysoreans and the Maharattas sat down before it. A tedious siege was the result ; both the French company and the English became desirous of peace ; and a short peace was concluded in 1754.

The French were still, however, actively engaged in the politics of the Deccan. Bussy, their agent, had a complete controul over the sovereign of Hyderabad ; and so skilfully had he conducted the war against the Maharattas, that he had acquired for France six hundred miles of the coast of the Bay of Bengal, as the reward of his services. Dupliex, who had been the mover of the whole, did not meet a very grateful return from the court of Paris.

The English had now their own nabob on the throne of Arcot ; and they began to aid him in the levying of his rents—or in plundering those who might offer resistance. When the nabob and the English laid siege to Vellore, the Governor of Pondicherry sent notice that he should regard that as a declaration of war, and the English returned to Madras.

Bussy was, in the mean time, preserving, and even extending his power in the Deccan ; and the English were endeavouring to force the holders of the forts to pay their rent ; when



the breaking out of the seven years' war in 1756, led to the renewal of hostilities. The war that followed in the Carnatic had more the character of a European war than the former ; and though both parties intrigued with the natives, it was a regular contest between the French and English as to who should be masters of the country. The French were at the commencement superior in force, but they were ill provided, and did not like their commander, Lally. The result was, that they lost all their towns and forts, and were, in 1761, driven out of the country ; Lally being most unjustly accused, and most cruelly put to death upon his return to Europe. But although the power of the French was gone, and the possessions which they once had in the Carnatic and the Circars were in the hands of the British ; though also the influence which Bussy had obtained for them in the Deccan was partially transferred to their enemies, there remained in the latter country a respect for their military talents ; and they had drawn toward the Carnatic the attention of an enemy that afterwards proved to be one of the most formidable that they ever had to contend with in India. That enemy was Hyder Ali, who, during the time that the English and French were contending



in the Carnatic, was raising up for himself the Mahomedan kingdom of Mysore. Lally had endeavoured to win him over by the promise of some of the districts in the low country; but it was after the fortunes of the French had become hopeless: and therefore all that Lally accomplished was the preparing of a future enemy to the Company. By this time, however, the operations in Bengal had become so important, as to leave little doubt that the power of the British would soon become the predominant one over the greater part of India.

Glancing back at this early part of the history of the European nations as connected with India, there are two general facts that cannot fail to attract the attention of the reader. The one is, that they all sought power and territory as well as commerce; and when these stood in their way, they did not much heed the rights of the native princes. The second is, that though the Europeans were chiefly only companies of merchants, they acted as if they had been rulers in the nations to which they belonged. The causes of their disputes lay in Europe, and their contests were carried on and decided by European arms. Thus it became evident, that whoever should obtain the sovereignty of the sea, would necessarily acquire

that of the Europeans in India ; and that the destruction of an equipment in the Channel might decide or alter the fate of the whole commerce and sway of the East.

## CHAPTER IV.

## TERRITORIAL PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH.

## FIRST ERA—to 1784.

It has been mentioned, that, from an early period of the English Company's history, it had been their aim to be politicians and warriors, rather than merchants; to obtain revenue, and not profit, from the east; and, at the present time, it is matter of not a little surprise, that the greatest abettor of this system should have been Sir Josiah Child, a man who understood the principles of commerce, at least as well as most men of his time, and who had so very contemptible an opinion of the legislative wisdom of the Commons of England. But the policy of Sir Josiah shows that, if the Commons did not understand how to legislate for trade, he

was, to the full, as unfit for forming any opinion on the subject of government ; and had he but once looked into the page of history, he would have found, that what he sought after had never been obtained :—that no country had ever continued to produce more public revenue than sufficed for its own local government,—that when such a revenue had been momentarily obtained, it had always been obtained by plunder and spoliation,—and that when it had been, in the case of conquered countries, attempted to be continued, the decay and ruin of the country had been the invariable, and, therefore, we are bound to suppose, the inevitable consequence. Now, had he, or any of those who have abetted the same system, but reflected for a moment, they might have spared themselves the trouble even of looking at the facts. Sir Josiah Child might have known, that no nation, however wealthy it may be at the commencement, can afford to carry on a losing commerce for any length of time ; because the accumulated wealth, even in those cases where it is the greatest, is never equal to the supply of very many years,—because the diminution of that must tend to diminish the annual production, and thus, in a few years, the country would unavoidably become so impoverished that, unless the bread was taken out of the mouths of

the people, and the clothing off their backs (and that would end the business at once), they would soon have nothing to export. A trade can be permanent only when it is profitable to both parties; and the more equally it is so to both, it will be the more durable, and the profit to each will, in general, be the greater.

But, with reference to the wealth of a country, the government is nothing but a trade: and if the whole revenue be not expended in and for the country, it is a losing trade, and must be productive of ruin to the losing party, and soon terminate to the other. Nor is this the only evidence: when the government is what we may call a lawful government, that is, when it may not put out its hand and plunder when and whomsoever it lists, but make out some sort of case before it can put its hand into the pockets of the people—the average revenue that it can raise, or has by possibility ever raised, is that which just meets and compensates the average of its own expenditure. Not only that, but there is always a difficulty, and a great difficulty, in making it as much. We have the example of most modern states, and of England in particular, since her possessions and connexion with the rest of the world became so extended, and therefore needed the labour of so many heads and hands for conducting them, all of which have to be paid

the full value of what they do—and a little more for the honour and respectability ;—we have the example of these, without one exception, that whenever any pressure of more than usual weight comes, there must be borrowing to meet it, and the sums so borrowed have seldom, if ever, been wholly paid off before a new pressure came, and required a fresh borrowing. And we may regard it as a very general maxim, that a government which has always a surplus and disposable revenue, is one which by necessity oppresses its people, and is in the way to destruction. Sir Josiah Child, or whoever it was that first impressed the Directors of the East India Company that they could get a revenue from India, appears to have overlooked that general principle, or been ignorant ; and, therefore, the Company have found that their *income* has always been an *outgoing*. They have sometimes been angry with their servants in India upon that account ; and the conduct of those servants has certainly not always been what it ought to have been ; but to have found fault with them for not obtaining a territorial revenue in India, and transmitting it to England, has been about as wise, as if they had been called to account for not having found out the philosopher's stone.

The wars in the Carnatic, of which we have



given a very brief outline, were, to a great extent, national wars—a contention between the English and the French. But they had Indian consequences upon the English Company, and also upon their servants in India. They led to an extensive system of intrigue among the native princes; and as the Company themselves had, as early as the days of William, shewn a very remarkable turn for bribery and corruption, and as Sir Thomas Roe had pointed that out as the surest way of dealing with the Indian courts, they could hardly blame their servants for engaging in it—taking or giving, according as might be most conducive to their advantage. This must be borne in mind, as a general explanation of some of the practices that accompanied the extension of the territorial power of the English, more especially in the Valley of the Ganges.

The powers and privileges which the English had obtained in Bengal, under the firman of the Emperor of Delhi, after that emperor had ceased to have any real power in the province, and so might be supposed to be actuated by no very kindly feeling towards the nabob, who had revolted against him, were, of course, far from agreeable to that prince. Aliverdi Khan appears to have been upon good terms with the wealthy inhabitants of his large and

valuable territory: for, when the Maharattas made their descent upon the province, the zemindars, or holders of the land, voluntarily advanced a million and a half to ward off the danger. The free passage for their goods, the fiscal rights which the English possessed in their villages, and the claims that they had upon the persons of their debtors, could not be very agreeable to the nabob; and they were less so to his successor Suraje ad Dowla, his grandson, who had been educated in all the pride of the east.

Suraje succeeded his grandfather in 1756. The principal force of the English was then in the Carnatic; and the Governor of Calcutta, probably apprehending an attack, was engaged in surrounding the place with a wall and moat. Suraje attacked Calcutta, took it at the end of three days, shut up the Europeans in the notorious 'black hole,' where one hundred and twenty-three out of one hundred and forty-six perished in the most cruel manner, and the survivors were subjected to many indignities. This was a proceeding not to be borne; and the haughty and inconsiderate nabob was probably not aware of the power of those whom he had thus attacked with equal cruelty and cowardice. The English had learned in the Carnatic the great superiority of Europeans

troops and modes of warfare; they were elated with some successes they had gained in the Carnatic; and Clive, raised to the rank of colonel, was again in the country. Clive landed with nine hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred seapoys. Calcutta was retaken; the nabob attacked in his camp, and compelled to grant honourable and advantageous terms. But Clive had had some experience in the degree of confidence that the promises, and even treaties, of a nabob merited, in the then state of India; and also in the spirit with which the French had been actuated in the Carnatic and in the Deccan; and, therefore, he knew that Calcutta would never be secure while the French held their settlement at Chandernagore, where they had three hundred European soldiers, and as many seapoys. Contrary to the wish, and latterly to the order of Suraje, the French fort was destroyed; and the nabob was made, by necessity, the enemy of the English, and probably would have attacked them, with all the force that he could muster, and the remains of the French, to whom he had given protection; but the Dûrannee Shah was then at Delhi, and was supposed to be meditating the re-union of Bengal to the imperial throne. Should the attempt have been made, Suraje saw that the English, who held a firman from the em-

peror, would favour him ; and that the Afghans, in his own army, who had been discontented in the time of his grandfather, might desert. There was also an enemy in the very councils of the nabob, in the person of Meer Jaffier, the paymaster of his forces, and the commander of a large division ; and there was general dissatisfaction among the officers of the nabob's army. Suraje not only protected the French who had assembled at Cossimbazar, and refused to give them up to Clive, but furnished them with money, and sent them into Bahar.

It was planned at Calcutta, that Meer Jaffier should be nabob, and that he should pay abundantly for the honour. Meer Jaffier was to join the English with his part of the army ; but he wrote that he had been suspected, made to swear upon the koran, and so could do nothing more than abstain from fighting, when the battle came. Even Clive, who, though not actuated by the fear which most likely influenced the majority of the council at Calcutta, dreaded treachery on the part of Jaffier, and was against fighting. The odds in numbers were indeed great. Suraje had about seventy thousand troops, and fifty pieces of cannon ; while Clive had only nine hundred Europeans, and two thousand two hundred native troops. The army of the nabob was

encamped at Plassey, about eighty miles in direct distance north of Calcutta, though, probably, more than three times that distance by any line along which Clive could proceed. He reconsidered the matter, however, and, stimulated partly by the glory, and partly by the gain, (for the immediate sums stipulated for were ample), he resolved to try the fate of a battle. On the 23d of June, 1757, the army of Clive came in sight of the camp, and a cannonade commenced, which rather alarmed the nabob. Before the armies came into contact, Clive observed Meer Jaffier filing off his troops, which made him sure both of the glory and the gain: he gave the word "Forward!"—the nabob fled; his rabble (for, after all, it was but a rabble) were scattered—and India was lost and won.

The traitor, with the other disaffected officers, waited upon Clive, and were instructed to follow the fugitive nabob to Moonshedabad, his capital. He escaped in disguise, but was retaken and murdered, and Clive followed to claim the spoil. The *public* demand was nearly three millions; and the extent of the private one was not fully known. The treasury, exhausted as it had been by the continued struggle of Aliverdi with the Maharattas, contained but a small fraction of the demand;

and jewels, plate, and all sorts of valuables were accepted in part, and Meer Jaffier taken, bound to pay the remainder by yearly instalments. The pretence for great part of the sum was an indemnity for loss at Calcutta; and among the items was a large sum to Omichund, a Hindû merchant, whose loss had been the most severe. But the council were for all. They made two treaties, one with the Hindû merchant's claim, and another without it, intending that Meer Jaffier should fulfil only the latter. Admiral Watson would not sign the fraud; but they forged his signature, cheated and ruined their Hindû friend, who went deranged when he found that he had been the associate of villains so unprincipled and despicable. Thus was the power of the English founded in Bengal. It was while Clive and the council were reaping this golden harvest in Bengal that the second war with the French took place in the Carnatic, and might have been fatal to the English interests there, had it not been for the precipitate conduct of Lally, and the divisions among the French themselves.

But though the English had set up Meer Jaffier, they had set him up with an exhausted treasury, and burdened with debt, and conducted themselves in such a way that he could



have no confidence in them; and probably he might have made some attempt to dislodge them, but he was weak, and disliked, from the very terms that they had imposed upon him; and other enemies were in the field. Shah Aulum, the eldest son of the Emperor Jehanghire, being promised aid, which he does not appear to have received, from the Rohillas, from the Nabob of Oude, and others, advanced in order to wrest Bengal from the English nabob. Upon this the nabob and Clive made common cause. In defiance of the grants which the emperors had made to the English—in spite of the legitimacy of the prince,—Clive marched against him, in company with the best part of Jaffier's troops; and the prince, disgusted by the cold and doubtful conduct of his pretended friends, wrote to Clive, begging a pension. Though Clive owed this entirely to the weakness of the prince, it was very profitable to him. Jaffier loaded him with thanks and honours; and with the more solid reward of the rents which the Company paid in jaghire, for the land occupied by them around Calcutta, and which amounted to thirty thousand pounds a year.

The Dutch, from whom the English had learned to seek revenue in India, heard of the vast plunder(?) which, if not shared by the

Company, had been acquired by their servants, and they came to claim a share; but Clive drove them off, and soon after returned to England.

Profitable as the regular trade of India had been at the commencement, Clive and his associates had shewn that nabob-making was the most lucrative trade in the east; and, therefore, they had resolved that the elevation, or rather the depression, (for it was, in fact, a degradation,) of Meer Jaffier should not be a solitary instance. But Jaffier had made Clive an Omrah of the Empire, and had given him the jaghire of thirty thousand pounds a year; and the latter might have been endangered (the lustre of the former could not be tarnished) by the deposing of Jaffier, while Clive remained governor. Other circumstances tended to protract the change a little longer. The prince again appeared upon the frontier, with greater promise than before, as the nabob's general, who had accompanied Clive the former year, had raised up more enemies. The emperor, too, had been murdered, so that the prince had now what remained of the value of the imperial name. Various encounters took place; but the superior valour and conduct of Colonel Calliud and his officers made them successful in most instances; yet if there had been a com-

mander, even of very moderate talents, on the other side, the affairs of India would have been very different.

When Clive departed with his wealth for England, in the early part of 1760, and left the governorship to Vansittart, his nominee, the affairs of the Company at Calcutta were found in a state that but ill accorded with the wealth of the late governor. When they stipulated for the large sums from Jaffier, they never considered where these sums were to be found, or even whether it was or was not possible to find them; and what with his own vices, and what with the exhausted state of the country, instead of the stipulated sums, he could not pay the troops. The affairs of the Company were in no better state. Their funds were so exhausted, that, instead of being able to send to Madras and Bombay the supplies which they were expected to send, the trade was nearly at an end, and the troops were in a state of mutiny. Nor was there any hope that the nabob could help them; he hated them, and, besides, he was not in a condition for doing very much for himself.

It had been proposed by Mr. Holwell, during the time that he was interim governor, after Clive had departed, and before Vansittart arrived, to take part with the emperor, and re-

store his power in the province. That was overruled by the new governor, and the majority of the council, upon his arrival; and a negotiation was opened with Meer Cossim, the son-in-law of Jaffier, offering him the nabobship, if he would cede to the council at Calcutta the revenues of the districts of Chittagong, Burdwar, and Mindapore, pay the balance due by Jaffier, and advance fifty thousand pounds towards the cost of the war in the Carnatic. He agreed—Jaffier was deposed, and indignantly retired to Calcutta to spend the remainder of his days. The opposition in the council considered this as a breach of faith; but it was carried: and Cossim, who was a man much more worthy of reigning than Jaffier, (though, like him, he had consented to ascend a dependant throne by dishonourable means,) set about raising the supplies. He soon paid the arrears of the troops, and supplied the council with a considerable sum. The English forces, and those of the nabob, marched to drive the emperor out of Bahar; they easily defeated his army, and he sought terms; and Cossim was invested with the nabobship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of paying a stipulated sum. But the emperor was not proclaimed at Patna, where the conference took place; and, therefore, as the Du-

rannee Sultan had advised, he went into the protection of the Nabob of Oude and the other Afghan chiefs. He tendered the English so many privileges, that had it not been for the reduced state of their funds, it is probable that they would have embarked in the imperial cause, and embroiled the Company in the last and futile struggle of the house of Timur.

Meer Cossim, who had no means of raising supplies, either for himself or for the Company, but extortion, turned his thoughts toward the Governor of Patna, who was supposed to be rich. The English deserted the governor ; his house was plundered, and his friends put to the torture by Cossim ; but no treasure of any consequence was to be found ; and the act sunk the English name and honour very low. Their councils were at the same time divided ; and the Company at home and their servants in India were at variance.

These circumstances inspired Cossim with a hope that, as he had fulfilled the hard conditions, stipulated, or rather dictated to him by the Company, they would act in the same manner toward him and his subjects.

The firman which had been formerly granted by the emperor to the Company, of having their goods transported without paying any duties at the chokeys, or toll-houses, had, of

course, been intended to apply only to the *bona fide* trade of the Company—to the goods that they might import at Calcutta, or be carrying thither for the purpose of being exported. But after the principal servants of the Company had begun to traffic in nabobs, it was almost a matter of course that the inferior ones should traffic in breaches of the law. The *dustuck*, or certificate, thus became a matter of the grossest abuse; and was used by any body, for the conveyance of any kind of goods, provided that they had the dress of Company's officers. By not paying the duties, these persons could undersell those who did pay them, and thus they got the whole internal trade into their hands; and the emperor's toll-gatherers were insulted and beaten. These enormities, and others, increased to such a degree, that the very forts of the nabob were insulted. What rendered matters worse was, that the majority of the council were in favour of all these abuses—of every abuse.

The president arranged with the nabob that the private trade by the Company's servants should pay duty. This was defeated by the council; a small duty allowed per favour; and the disputes left to be settled by the English, who profited by the aggression. By these enormities, Cossim was left no alternative but



war; and the moment that he was in arms, the Council set up his father-in-law anew, who, though a much worse ruler even for the interests of their employers in England, was a more convenient tool. Meer Cossim defended himself for some time with considerable bravery; but as the country was still divided, he was at last driven into the dominions of Oude, carrying with him considerable riches. He found the Nabob of Oude, Suja Dowlah, who was vizier, and the emperor, together, near Allahabad, and joined them. The vizier's object was to get Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa for himself; but he, in the mean time, made common cause against the English.

They were in a state of insurrection or mutiny. The seapoys having begun to desert to the enemy, Monro, who now took the command, had twenty-four of the ringleaders blown from the guns, at the same time that the remaining guns were ready, as well as the Europeans, to fire upon the remainder; and by that decisive act of barbarity, the army, or rather the ascendancy, of the English was saved. On the 24th of October, the same year, (1764,) Monro totally defeated the vizier at Buxar, though his army was not more than seven thousand, and that of the enemy more than forty thousand. In consequence of this battle, the

power of the nabobs of India Proper was completely broken. Cossim escaped to the north ; and Suja Dowlah having made submission to the English, was permitted to retain the whole of his nabobship of Oude, with the exception of the districts of Corah and Allahabad, which were given to the emperor, and the latter appointed for his residence. The emperor conferred upon the English the dewannee, or revenue, of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the territory of the Zemindar of Benares ; and large presents were made to the influential persons by Suja Dowlah, which he probably paid out of the treasure of which he had plundered Meer Cossim while under his protection.

The presents that had been received by the Company's servants during the seven years preceding 1764, are wholly unparalleled in the annals of bribery. Almost six millions, exclusive of Clive's jaghire, was proved before the House of Commons ; and as nearly two-thirds of that were obtained by about twenty-four individuals, there is no knowing the amount that escaped notice. The sums received by Clive alone, including the jaghire, amounted (above board) to about a million sterling ; and how much they may have exceeded that amount in fact, there is no knowing.

Amid all this the Company were losing—had

no money but what they borrowed, and that they often did, at high interest, from their own servants.

When the state of the Company's affairs had been a little known at home, Clive, who had been made a peer, was sent out again as governor-general, with very ample powers; and though the Company at first intended to restrain the audacity of their servants in the matter of the inland trade, they wavered, and the trade was continued. The Company stipulated, however, that the presents should be for the future paid to themselves.

Before Clive arrived in India, the Nabob of Oude had been defeated; Meer Jaffier again put into the nominal nabobship of Bengal; and, unable to raise the supplies which were demanded at Calcutta, he had died; Nujam ad Dowlah had been set up, and had been again liberal in the article of presents. In the second appointment of Clive, with more ample powers than he had possessed at the first, the Company had achieved a piece of matchless policy. Finding that the council which they had already at Calcutta acted independently of them, they had empowered Clive, and the other members of his sub-committee, to act independently of the council also. The majority of the council had indeed thwarted

the former president, or governor, and they had widened the surface over which the private advantage spread. In consequence of this, while Clive had got two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds at the making of Meer Jaffier in 1757, Vansittart had got little more than fifty-eight thousand at the making of Meer Cossim in 1760.

The settlements that have already been mentioned were made by Clive, in the course of which no reference was had to the English nabob, even when the revenue of Bengal was conferred upon the Company. The private trade by the Company's servants was so far made agreeable to the instructions of the court, that the tobacco branch, which was of no consequence, was given up, and the salt and betel-nut retained. Nay, a monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco was formed; and Clive was a member of it, or, at any rate, an instigator in its formation, in order to make the fortunes of some friends that he had brought with him to India. The court at home remonstrated against those proceedings; but while Clive remained at Calcutta, the remonstrances were not much heeded, and the picture which he drew of the state of the Indian empire was so flattering, that he contrived to keep them in hopes.

The transactions in Bengal up to this period,

may be regarded as the first fulfilment of the early wish of the Company to have political power and wars; and the result was great wealth to the parties by whom those wars were carried on; great hardship and oppression to the natives of India; and to the Company—high hopes, which have never been realized—and heavy debts which have never been discharged. The Company were importunate for a portion of that Indian wealth, of which they had seen samples in the case of Clive and others, and which had been so studiously magnified to them to many times its real amount: and though the servants of the country must have been aware that they could not realize for their masters any thing corresponding to the sums that they had extorted for themselves, though, probably, that was a secondary and very indifferent matter with them,—and though, with one moment's reflection, the directors might have discovered that they never could by possibility bring one shilling of the revenue of India to England, unless they brought it as plunder, to the subversion of good government and the ruin of the people,—yet those in India did make a scramble for an increase of revenue.

Mere rapacity, however, though it may deal more profitably with wealth that is already

accumulated, the less that it is enlightened by reason or restrained by justice, fails entirely when it comes to tamper with the way in which wealth is produced. If there had been any thing like common reflection upon the part of those by whom large territory was first acquired for the Company—or, perhaps, it is nearer the truth to say, in the name of the Company—in India, they must have seen that all attempts (even on the part of rulers who were of the people whom they ruled, knew all their ways, and wished them good) to direct their industry had failed; and that, therefore, attempts by mere strangers, among a people of whom they were utterly ignorant, were madness. If the servants of the Company had from the beginning protected the people from the oppression of their native rulers, and left them free to the exercise of their own industry, in their own way, there is not the least question that the people could have afforded to pay the full cost of that protection, and would have done it cheerfully; but the servants of the Company played the oppressors to the full extent in their own persons, and, therefore, there could be nothing left for their masters.

When Lord Clive left India in 1767, he received from the nabob, and he agreed to receive from his successor, sums which together



amounted to about eighty thousand pounds; and these he invested for the benefit of officers in what is now called Clive's Fund. He also made regulations in India, by which future governors and councils should not derive the same advantages from their situations which he had derived; and he sent home so flaming an account of the coming revenue to the Company, that the price of the stock rose high in the market, and the dividend was increased to twelve and a half per cent. An investigation took place in parliament, and there appearing no reasonable foundation for the rise in the dividend, it was ordered to be reduced.

The governor and council set about the collection of the revenue with vigour. They let it yearly to native collectors, who screwed it up to a million and three quarters, which was more than had been obtained in the days of Aurungzebe. But the system of extortion was dreadful: the Company was omnipotent; the collector was either the judge, or could controul the judge; so that the people found no mercy in the first instance, and could obtain no justice afterwards. Whole villages were deserted; and the people, whom the oppression had driven from the lands, took up their abodes in the jungles, from whence they sallied in gangs, as *dacoits*, or robbers,—or they wandered

into remote parts, and joined the Maharattas, or other lawless and predatory tribes. To add to the calamity, a famine in 1770, carried off nearly one third of the population. But when one man out of three was starved to death, the remaining two were compelled to pay his revenue as well as their own, and it was exacted to the utmost farthing. Amid the voluptuousness of Calcutta, the servants of the Company had not felt the famine; and they were determined that the revenue, and those whom they employed in the extorting of the revenue, should not feel it either. And yet when a third of the producers were taken away, and their burden laid upon the remaining two-thirds, the pressure upon the people was a little more than doubled—it was increased in the ratio of 9 to 4 ( $3 : 2 \times 3 : 2$ ); and as the previous amount had been all that could well be squeezed out of them, the misery that this occasioned was so great, that even the governor general himself stood aghast at it. Upon this, the Company appointed their own servants to reside in the different parts of the provinces, and superintend the collection, and the reports which they made of the success of the extortions and oppressions that were practised, from the great zemindar, downward to the humble ryot, or cultivator of the soil, were of so ru-

inous a nature, that there was no cure, or even palliation, without a change of the system. But the idea of a rack revenue was not abandoned: a committee was appointed to perambulate the country, and let the lands to the highest bidders. This would be but a sorry mode of relieving agricultural distress in England, where something is known of the people; and it must have been worse in India. The first trial of this plan was on a five years' lease from 1772; but it made matters worse. Those who had a hereditary knowledge of the lands, were, in many instances, dispossessed, and their places occupied by speculators; and year after year the revenue declined: The whole revenue for that period did not amount to three millions, of which more than the half was in arrear, with the certainty that it could not be recovered. The ancient proprietors were invited back, and the land let to them from year to year; but still the country continued to decline.

The complaints had been so many and so loud, that the legislature at home could hardly any longer desist from taking some interest in them. Bills were proposed, first, by Dundas, to give the King power to rule the servants of the Company with some minor matters; secondly, by Fox, to place the whole affairs of

the Company under the controul of directors chosen by parliament, with some minor matters ; and, lastly, by Pitt, (which was carried in 1784,) to place the directors of the Company, and sometimes the affairs in India, without any reference to the Company, under the management of a board of controul, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, one secretary of state, and four other privy councillors ; to appoint a secret committee of the directors, which could act independently of the general court, in like manner as that could act independently of the proprietors, and the board of controul of them all,—with some minor matters.

In one respect, the gist of all those bills was the same,—to take the direction out of the hands of the Company ; and in so far it was perfectly justified by the fact that they had never been able to command obedience from their servants. Clive had directly insulted them ; and by all after him, and in the intervals of his power, their orders had been neglected and evaded. Something more efficient was therefore necessary, in order to save British India from utter ruin, and the British name from indelible infamy.

In another respect, the bills of Dundas and Pitt differed from that of Fox. The former were both calculated to place the government of India in the King, that is, in the minister for

the time being ; while the latter, though it ultimately placed the government in the very same hands, did so through the medium of parliament. The bills of Dundas and Pitt, therefore, tended to make the government of India a despotism, while that of Fox would have made it something resembling the government of Britain. Under Pitt's bill the revenue of India, whatever it might amount to, was to be managed snugly, and in a corner ; while, had that of Fox been carried, the whole would have been open and discussed in parliament. Over the former there was no controul, but the pleasure (profit) of the minister and the party supporting him ; under the latter, there would have been the same influence of public opinion that is felt in England. The declamation with which Pitt assailed the measure of Fox, recoiled, therefore, with tenfold force against his own ; because that which could not have been accomplished in the one case, without a majority of the House of Commons, could in the other be accomplished by any six persons whom the minister chose to appoint. Legislation for England, on the same principle upon which Pitt legislated for India in 1784, would have been tantamount to locking up both houses of parliament, and meting out the amount and distribution of the taxes, as might be

found most advantageous to the conclave in Downing-street, who would have had King, country, and all at their mercy ; and the minister, backed by the sword, (which is always a purchaseable commodity,) might have played at nabobs with the house of Hanover, and zemindars with the barons of England. Such was the spirit of the first assumption of Indian power by the government of this country.

Yet, bad as that measure was in principle—and that which is very bad in principle is not often superlatively good in practice—it had some beneficial effects in India. It had a strength, which, though distance might make them a little dilatory, the servants in India could not utterly disobey ; and that, though to an Englishman it seems but little, was a great deal in the then state of India.

Lord Cornwallis, who was appointed the first governor-general under the board of controul, (for from the moment of its establishment we are to consider that as the real government, and the Company only as a deputy, or a mask, according to the deeds to be done,) appears to have gone to India with every wish to do all the good in his power ; and as that power was the power of the British executive, it was ample enough. But there is another element of action, not only indispensable, but necessarily



anterior to the application of power ; and that is, the knowledge how to apply it. This Cornwallis could not possibly possess before he went to India ; there was nobody there that could furnish it, and the remainder of his days would not have been half enough for the personal acquisition of it. The first and principal object of his instructions must have been to find a revenue ; because that, independently of the commerce, (and that was left to the Company,) a revenue was the only *British* object that could have sent him to India ; and without a British object, it is impossible to imagine how he could have been sent there at all. But besides that, which did not need to be written, there were two important items in his written instructions ; he was to examine and redress the grievances of the landholders ; and was to see justice administered according to the ancient laws and local usages ; that is, he was to perform two very important duties, of which the only approximate knowledge that he had was calculated to put him wrong, and there was nobody that could put him right. Think of a bashaw with three tails coming to regulate the industry, and restore to its ancient form the law, of England, with only half a score of his own mufti to counsel him, and you will have a pretty accurate knowledge of the predicament

in which Cornwallis found himself. Cornwallis had left a country that was in a state of improvement, and rents were rising every year, and where, though the laws were in many cases bad enough in themselves, there was a reasonable degree of honour and justice in the administration of them. This must have been the notion of a country with which he was most familiar; and it must, without any intention on his part, have given him a bias the wrong way in India.

He took four years to consider what was best to be done for the landholders; and he saw that it was a fixed payment. So far he was perfectly right in principle; but he wanted the practical knowledge; and there he failed. The only datum that he had for fixing the amount, was that which had, by its inordinate pressure, produced the evil; and he estimated it, as if he had been in a thriving country, and not in one that was going to ruin, at the average of the last three years. He forgot the difference of law, too; and while he laid too great a pressure upon the zemindars, he left them to oppress and drive about the ryots at their pleasure;—thereby he prodigiously augmented the number of crimes, and (if the term may be used) of professional criminals in India. But though the law was, according to the doctrine

then most frequent in England, meant to relieve the landholder, without troubling itself much about the cultivator, it was found to work somewhat differently in practice. Whenever the zemindar fell in arrear, the collector ejected him by a summary process, and sold his lands, and the rent of lands of this description that were offered for sale, yearly, amounted to about a quarter of a million sterling.—[What would we think in England if half a county were annually brought to the hammer for arrears of land-tax ?]—The zemindars, who had not been subjected to this summary punishment under the latter Mogul rulers, were deprived of the magisterial power over the ryots, which they had then enjoyed ; and so they could not relieve themselves by the same summary process to which they were themselves liable. This inflicted upon the country a burden of lawsuits that were almost as heavy and injurious as the rent itself. Some idea of the extent of this mischief may be formed from the fact stated of the district of Burdwar. The revenue of that district was only four hundred thousand pounds, and there were thirty thousand undecided suits, the costs in which, considering the way in which law is administered, even in England (and it is justice compared with the Indian mode), must have been more than double the rent.

Here, too, as in all cases of quackery—(the term is harsh, but it is perfectly just, as quackery is nothing but ignorance attempting to cure what it does not understand)—the cure only augmented the disease. The same summary power was given to the zemindars over the ryots, which the collectors of the Company's revenue had over the latter. There was no power of appeal; no time even for decisions of courts; the people took to arms; and the reforms that were intended to benefit and bless India, had the effect of embroiling multitudes in quarrels, and completely destroying the industry and morals of the people—while the revenue to the Company, which had been the grand mover of the whole, made its appearance in the shape of a vast increase of debt. So much for even well-intentioned regulation, by those who are totally ignorant of what they should do.

The first attempts that were made in the administration of the law, were productive of even more lamentable results; and till the present century was pretty well begun, even the countries of the Maharattas were, in point of the number and enormity of crimes, purity itself, as compared with Bengal, which, in former times, had always been the most orderly portion of India. The evidence of this is not

drawn from those that have been enemies to the Indian government, but from those who have been in high offices under the Company, and even from the governors-general themselves. Lord Minto, in a note written in the latter part of the year 1810, after many efforts and schemes had been tried for the establishment of a more effective police, describes the country in the following terms:—"A monstrous and disorganized state of society existed under the eye of the supreme British authority, and almost at the very seat of that government to which the country might justly look up for safety and protection; that the mischief could not wait for a slow mending; that the people were perishing almost in our sight; that every week's delay was a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries."

It is impossible, indeed, to imagine a more melancholy result of the effect of gross, though well-intentioned, ignorance, in tampering with matters in which the most consummate knowledge alone would have warranted the slightest interference; and the British seem to have thought that, because they could bribe one nabob to set himself up upon the ruins of another, and vanquish in the field half-disciplined armies, that had no esteem for their

leader, and no affection for their country—who, in short, fought for pay, and for pay only, and, if they got that, cared not for whom, or against whom, their arms were directed;—they seem to have thought that, because they could do these things, they had only to will for India any crotchet that might come into their heads, and nature would work it out by miracle. Acting upon this, or something as ill-founded as this, they broke down the power of the old zemindars, by whom the great body of the people were kept in order; and when they came to try the substitutes which they had prepared, they found that they were of no use. And how could they? They were framed by those who were in utter ignorance of the people to whom they were to be applied. It is but fair to remark, that when those imperfections in the rule and consequent (for they are consequent) enormities in the conduct of the people of India, have been stated to the authorities in Europe, those authorities have all along evinced a wish, and since the establishment of the board of controul, displayed a power which, if it could be brought to bear, would put an end to them. But if those upon the spot have not been, even since it was their interest as well as their duty to do so, able to discover the means, it cannot be expected that others, who are in still



greater ignorance with regard to India, and principally occupied about matters of a very different and even opposite kind, can by possibility be able to suggest anything better.

But, notwithstanding this lameness in the very first rudiments of good government, the acquisition of territory has gone on ; and the grant by the fallen Mogul of the revenue of the provinces of the Lower Ganges, appears to have been a signal for the extension of the same jurisdiction over the greater part of India. The Company (for we may as well still say the Company) were too deeply involved for retiring or even stopping ; and, therefore, although the principle is pretty fully and clearly developed in the conquest which we have already noticed, it will be necessary to cast a running glance at the others, which we shall do in the fewest words possible.

The Company having obtained the firman of the emperor for possession of the Circars, which formed part of the kingdom of the Deccan under the Nizam of Hyderabad, made, in 1766, a treaty with that prince, wherein they engaged to pay him annually nine lacs of rupees—(a lac is one hundred thousand rupees, or about ten thousand pounds ; a crore is one hundred lacs, or about a million)—and held a body of troops in readiness to co-operate with him, for the five

northern Circars ; besides which, they ordered the Nabob of Bengal to find him five lacs more, to be paid down, their own not being to be forthcoming till they were in actual and sure possession of the Circars. The bargain that they had made of Bengal, even where they had the whole revenue, might have made them pause as merchants in this one ; but it did not, neither did they appear to make any calculation of the extent to which the league with the nizam might lead them.

They had been already skirmishing with Hyder Ali, who had set himself up in Mysore : and thus, after the nizam had quieted the mutiny of his troops with the ready money furnished by the nabob, the new allies marched to reduce the fort of Bangalore, above the Ghauts of the Carnatic. But Hyder had the address to detach the nizam from the English, and to make an ally of him ; and the English commander, after sustaining a pretty sharp attack, had to make all the haste that he could to Trincomalee. Hyder proceeded upon a plundering excursion to Madras, but he did not remain. The nizam offered to negotiate with the English ; but not agreeing, a battle was fought near Velore, in which Hyder and the nizam were defeated. This brought the nizam over again to the English, made him

reduce the price of the Circars from nine lacs permanent, to seven lacs for six years, and ceded to them the Balaghaut district of the Carnatic, which was actually in the possession of Hyder. Hyder sought for peace; but the Presidency of Madras, who had lately, with not a little consternation, seen him at their door, waxed valiant, took the field, controlled the officers, and would have their nabob put on the throne of Mysore. The civilians made but lame commanders; and the army wasted the season of 1768 in unavailing trifles. Still Hyder wished for peace, but they would not listen; and they dismissed their general. On this the army, in which disease had broken out, became dispirited; and Hyder wasted the greater part of the Carnatic as he pleased. The old commander being reinstated, placed himself between Hyder and the Mysore; Hyder dashed on, by marches of forty miles a day, and showed himself with five thousand horse so close to Madras, that he could have pillaged all without the fort before the English army could have come up. But Hyder was not implacable: he stipulated for mutual restitution and mutual aid in war, and the president agreed. Soon after this, Hyder was attacked by the Maharrattas, and applied to the English for the stipulated assistance, but it was not given; and

Hyder, though the Maharattas did not leave him in a condition to show it in the meantime, was the enemy of the English, upon the plea of a broken treaty.

About the same time that the English made their treaty with Hyder before Madras, there was a combination formed against them, which, but for the discordant materials of which it was composed, might have proved formidable, if not fatal, to their interests all over India. It arose out of the treaty that they had entered into with the nizam. The readiness with which that prince had, upon the very first of their joint speculations, left them, and joined their enemy Hyder, and the readiness with which he had left Hyder, and come back to them, when by his advice Hyder was beaten (for it was the nizam that prevailed upon Hyder to abandon his own successful system of predatory war, and hazard a battle), proved how far the nizam could be relied on. No sooner had he reached his own dominions than a triple alliance was proposed, between himself, Hyder, and the Maharattas. Hyder was to invade the Carnatic; the nizam the Circars; the Maharattas of Berar were to lay waste Bengal and Bahar; and the Poonah Maharattas were to attack the British army in Gujerat. All the parties were willing enough

to go to war, in any country where they might find plunder ; but they did not act in concert : and Hyder was the only one that went seriously to war, and he had the plea of the broken treaty. The nizam made peace ; the Berar Maharattas never appeared below the Ghauts ; and the Poonah Maharattas were beaten : and had it not been that the war with Hyder, though unintentionally upon his part, operated as a diversion in their favour, they would have been completely subdued.

The immediate cause of the war with the Poonah or Western Maharattas, had its origin in India Proper. In 1773, the Maharattas had crossed the Ganges to attack the Rohilla chiefs, who had stipulated to pay Sujah Dowlah of the Oude, as a British ally, forty lacs of rupees, for British aid to drive them back. The service was done, but the money not paid ; and so the British next year invaded and subdued Rohilcund, and added that and the Jât portion of the Doab to the province of Oude. When the Maharattas returned in 1773 from wasting Hyder's country, they made some demonstrations of moving northward. An army was accordingly marched from Bengal westward in 1778 ; but one part of it was forced to capitulate the following year, though the other passed on, reducing the greater part of the

country from thence to Concan, and it penetrated into the very heart of Malwa.

But in 1780, Hyder appeared again in the Carnatic, and approached near to Madras, which occasioned the western army to retire and give up all the conquests except the small isles in Bombay harbour. Hyder's army was very numerous, and Sir Hector Monro, being rather taken by surprise before the reinforcement from Bengal arrived, suffered a party under Colonel Baillie to be cut to pieces by Tippoo; and, Hyder having Frenchmen attached to his army, the British were dispirited and had to retreat. Sir Eyre Coote arrived from Bengal with seven thousand troops, took the command, and restored the spirits of the troops; he beat Hyder in several actions; and Hyder died in 1782. Tippoo, who had been more successful than his father in most actions with the British, succeeded his father. His attention was called to the west part of the Mysore, where General Matthews had made himself master of Canara. Matthews was beaten, and capitulated; but he and twenty of his officers were poisoned, and most of his army massacred by order of Tippoo. The Maharattas showed hostility, however; the French deserted; and, in 1784, Tippoo made peace, the war having produced no change of territory on either side.



The year 1784 was rather a remarkable one in the history of the British since they had begun to acquire territory in India. They were at peace with all the native powers. Upon another account, this year is an important epoch in the history of British influence in India. It is the year in which the change was made which rendered the directors subservient to the board of controul ; but it is distinguished also by a change that took place in the manner of acquiring territory. Hitherto that had, though unaccompanied by fighting, been more upon the mercantile than the military plan. In the wars which are to be considered simply as wars, such as those with Hyder and the Maharattas, very little territory had been acquired ; and the success had not been any thing very wonderful. Intrigue and money had done the business ; and though the natives had been made to pay, there is not much that can be said to come under the ordinary definition of military conquest. The conquests that have followed have been of rather a different character, and may be considered as a second era, as they began under Cornwallis, who was sent out ostensibly to correct the abuses of which former rulers had tolerated the existence. It may, therefore, be as well to state how the powers of India stood at the commencement of this second era.

1. The British had Bengal ; part of Bahar ; the Benares district of Allahabad ; part of Orissa, the Circars, with the exception of Guntoor, south of the Krishna ; the Jaghire of the Carnatic, about one hundred miles along the coast and fifty miles inland ; and Bombay, Salsette, and the other small isles in Bombay harbour.

2. The Maharattas had a most extensive territory in the centre of India, stretching from near Delhi to the Krishna, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, along the line of the Nerbudda. The provinces then occupied by the Maharattas were the following: the principal part of Orissa, Malwa, Candeish, Bejapoor, the greater part of Ajmeer, and Gujerat, and portions of Dowlatabad, Allahabad, and Agra. The whole of these extensive dominions were not however under one chief. There were two principal divisions, the east and the west ; and these, especially the west, were divided into smaller states. The Bhonsla family of Nagpoor, who had established themselves upon the ruins of the Gond Rajah, were the chiefs of the Eastern Maharattas ; they had established themselves there in 1738 ; their people were not wholly Maharattas, but consisted of Gonds and other wild mountain races ; and they had joined their neighbour the nizam,

so late as 1763, in sacking Poonah, the original capital of the Maharattas.

The Western Maharattas professed to be united under the Rajah of Poonah, the representative of Sevajee, who had first consolidated the Maharatta power during the reign of Aurungzebe, and whom they styled the Peshwa, or leader. The provincial chiefs under the Peshwa, were Scindia, Holcar, Futtee Sing, and Guicowar, the first being sovereign from the confines of Berar to Agra, and the rest holding the remainder of the country from Agra to the dominions of the Peshwa. The titles of those Maharatta chiefs were mostly family names, and their allegiance to the Peshwa, when not their interest, was but nominal. The Rajpoot princes of Ajmeer were at that time tributary to the Maharattas, who, indeed, levied *chout* over a great part of India, and did not much heed what portion of it they plundered.

3. The Nizam (Nizam, though it originally meant the "putter in order," had come to be a family name) possessed the west part of Berar, the south of Dowlatabad, the whole of Hyderabad, or Golconda, and the Guntoor Circar, south of the Krishna.

4. The Nabob of Carnatic (the Company's nabob) possessed the whole low, or Payeen-

ghaut country, from the Guntoor Circar to Cape Comorin, with the exception of the Jaghire of the Company.

5. The Sultan of Mysore, Tippoo, held the whole country from the Eastern Ghauts to the sea on the west, from Travancore in the south, to as far north as Bejapoor.

6. The Nabob of Oude held that province under the controul of the British, which had been extended westward into the Doab, within forty miles of Delhi.

7. The Seiks held the west part of Delhi, Lahore, and Mûltan; they were detached bands, but there was a sort of general leader in the Seik of Lahore.

Such were the principal powers of India in 1784, among which the Mogul does not appear; the fact is that he was at that time the prisoner of Scindia, the Maharatta. There were a few minor rajahs in remote places, but they were of too little consequence for having any influence upon the general politics of the country. Of the native powers that have been mentioned, the Maharattas had the most extended territory, and the one best situated for enabling them to annoy all the other powers; but they were not united. Tippoo was the strongest; and though his country did not contain quite so many forts impregnable to eastern warfare as

that of the peshwa, its natural boundaries were stronger against a regular army. Such were the relations of the Indian provinces when Lord Cornwallis arrived in the country; and before he was called to take any part in a new war, he was allowed about four years to consider of and arrange his plans for the government of Bengal.

Although the steps by which this increase of territory was acquired, did not proceed from any positive orders sent out by the Company,—and although the Company, had they been upon the ground, and seen the proceedings, would, in all probability, have had at least some qualms as to what might have been the ultimate result, if not to India, at least to themselves; yet the wish that had been expressed for political power, territory, and revenue, the extended patronage which the number of new officers which the extended territory had given them, the advantages, direct and indirect, which that patronage produced, the seductive nature of great power in any form, the especial glory of a mere mercantile Company taking an important rank among the rulers of the world, and the difficulty of getting rid of the notion, though a mere prejudice, that they would, in the end, get large sums from India, no doubt made them, removed as they were from the

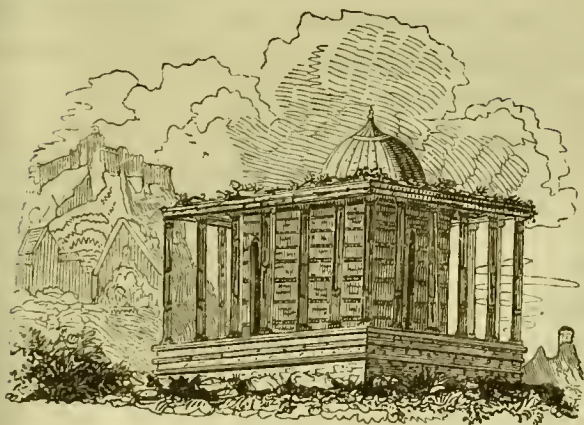
scene of action, and ignorant as they, by their own showing, were of the real state of the case, secretly pleased with the aggrandizement. The occurrences had been so dazzling,—had shone so well in despatch and newspaper,—that men of even more political wisdom and sagacity than we fear we are able at any time to ascribe to the conclave of Leadenhall-street, must have been unable to withstand the temptation. On these grounds, it would not be fair to lay blame at the door of the directors; for they who are tempted above what they can bear, fall, not through sin, but by destiny.



## CHAPTER V.

TERRITORIAL PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH.

SECOND ERA—from 1784.



JAIN TEMPLE.

BUT though, as was mentioned in the close of last chapter, Lord Cornwallis got peace to mature his plans for the internal government of Bengal, he was called into action before he had time to see how they would work. The

Rajah of Travancore had early sought the alliance and protection of the British, and he had been acknowledged as their ally by Tippoo, in the treaty of 1784; but Tippoo was anxious to possess himself of the whole western coast, opposite to his kingdom in the Balaghaut, and would have had no great objection to add the Carnatic, even including the jaghire of the Madras presidency; because then he would have been sole autocrat on the south of the Krishna; and having no enemy in his rear, might have pushed northward, vanquishing the nizam and the divided Maharattas, and sweeping all before him to the Himalaya.

He soon found occasion to begin. The Rajah of Travancore had bought two places from the Dutch, which Tippoo claimed as belonging to his tributary the Rajah of Cochin. Tippoo approached the lines which the rajah of Travancore had thrown up on his northern frontier on the 29th of december 1789. The Madras Council were very reluctant to go to war with Tippoo; but the directors at home were in good humour, from a considerable investment having been sent to England, and Cornwallis was anxious to humble the Sultan of Mysore. For the better accomplishment of that purpose, he entered into an alliance with the nizam and the peshwa. The Madras and Bombay armies

were both speedily in motion, the former to relieve the rajah, and the latter to attack Tippoo on his own ground. In the field they were both successful: the rajah was relieved by General Meadows, and great part of the country below the Western Ghauts was conquered by General Abercrombie. Next year, Cornwallis himself, having taken Bangalore, led the Madras army into the centre of Tippoo's dominions, and beat him near his capital. But there was a more formidable enemy than Tippoo, in the monsoon: the rains came, Abercrombie made a very difficult retreat; and the Madras army was confined in the heart of Tippoo's kingdom, where it suffered much from disease, and was threatened with famine. Cornwallis was anxious to possess himself of the strong forts on the way between the ghauts and the centre of Mysore. One of them, Saven-droog, was truly formidable. It is surrounded by several miles of jungle, so thick as to be impassable. The rock on which it stands is so large, that the fort could not easily be battered; and the top is cleft in twain, so that though the one part be taken, there is a repetition of the same difficulty in taking the other. The taking of it was of the utmost importance however; and so Cornwallis ordered the right wing of his army to the service, and superintended their

operations in person. In three days the breach seemed practicable, and the Europeans rushed forward to storm; the garrison were panic-struck; and in one hour the invincible droog was won, with only one private of the storming party wounded. Other forts were taken, and a communication with the Carnatic secured. The Bombay army, and the quotas of the nizam and peshwa were joined by the Governor General; and the whole moved on for Seringapatam, which they saw on the 5th of February, with Tippoo's fortified camp under the walls; and on the following day, the camp was stormed, Tippoo was beaten, his army scattered by desertion, and they were masters of his capital. Tippoo, after some unavailing struggles, sued for terms, and paid half his dominions, and three millions and a half in money, the commander-in-chief and General Meadows giving up to the troops their share of the prize-money, in all about sixty-three thousand pounds. The army of Cornwallis amounted to upwards of eighty thousand, with one hundred and ninety pieces of cannon; but the attack was made on Tippoo's camp with two thousand eight hundred Europeans and five thousand nine hundred natives, without cannon. After this defeat of Tippoo, the alliance with the nizam was renewed, and Scindiah

was acknowledged a sovereign prince by the British, the former of which rather offended the peshwa. Cornwallis then ratified treaties with the nabobs of Carnatic and Oude. Pondicherry was finally taken from the French in 1793, and in the same year he sailed for England.

By this time the French appeared in considerable numbers in India, not as a separate party, but in the service of the native powers, chiefly with Scindiah, whom they were instructing in the European art of war; and he so established himself as to become formidable to the British themselves; and, till they marched against him, he was master of the whole centre of India Proper.

In 1795, the nizam was attacked by Scindiah, but the English did not march to his assistance, and he made rather a dishonourable peace. His son rebelled, and the French, by the efforts which they made to reduce the rebel, ingratiated themselves with the nizam. The peshwa died about the same time, and Scindiah, though he set the rightful heir upon the throne of Poonah, became the most powerful of the Maharattas. He took possession of the greater part of Holcar's territories, compelled the peshwa to give him Ahmednuggar, by having which he commanded the city of

Poonah, and as the French had introduced European discipline into his armies, he was formidable to all India. The Nabob of Oude, dreading the power of Scindiah, put himself under the protection of the British, for which he agreed to pay a large sum. Such were the proceedings in India while Sir John Shore was governor; and though they did not call the British arms into the field during his residence, they laid the foundation of a good deal of fighting afterwards.

Lord Wellesley, as the successor of Sir John Shore, arrived in India in 1798; and found himself justified in taking more active measures. The expeditions which had been undertaken against the Dutch settlements in Ceylon and the Spice Islands, had both exhausted the treasury and weakened the defences of India; the French, ever since the commencement of the revolution, had been plotting at the native courts, and had succeeded in very many instances; and the nabobs of the Carnatic and Oude, who were attached to the British because they owed their thrones to British power were more in need of assistance themselves than able to give it. The nizam had at Hyderabad a corps of fourteen thousand men, commanded by French officers. Scindiah, who was also in so far under the guidance of French



advisers, had complete power over the peshwa; the Maharattas of Berar were jealous of the English; the French were fitting out a powerful armament, of which the destiny was supposed to be, first Egypt, and then India; and what was, perhaps, more than all the rest put together, the minds of many influential persons in England, and among others, that of the new Governor General, were in a state of the greatest excitement about the progress of the French arms and the spread of French principles. War, therefore, appears to have been the predetermination of Lord Wellesley; and Tippoo was the first object of that war.

As it was necessary to have the assistance of the nizam, not so much for the absolute help that he could give, as to prevent the possibility of his being made to act against them, he was directed to dismiss his French officers. At the first that threatened to be rather a difficult matter; but when the army, of which the French officers had command, was surrounded by a British force, the men mutinied, and gave up their officers, who were sent home to France; and the men were put under British officers. The British also undertook to arrange the disputes which the nizam had with the Maharattas.

Terms were then proposed to Tippoo, who

pleaded the treaty that he had made with Lord Cornwallis ; but the Governor General rose in his demands ; and Tippoo, from that time, appears to have felt that his ruin was determined upon. As Tippoo, especially since the loss that he had sustained by the former war, was obliged to be parsimonious, he was not a favourite with the great men of his kingdom ; those most about him were not the best qualified for giving him advice ; and though he was very brave, and not without a good deal of tact in stratagems, he was exceedingly superstitious, and not capable of forming any comprehensive plan. When the English, and their ally the nizam, first entered his territory, which they did from Madras in March 1799, they supposed that Tippoo would oppose their progress ; but he took the other direction, and offered some resistance to the Bombay army that had entered his dominions from the west. Seringapatam was evidently, however, the place on which he relied ; and, though he appeared once to dispute the passage of the Madras army, he was repulsed, and he retired to his capital. Thence he endeavoured to make peace ; but the terms were such as could not be complied with ; and he waited the approach of the enemy. The fort was taken by storm on the 4th of May ; Tippoo was killed,

his family captured, together with his wealth, which in money and jewels did not amount to more than one million sterling.

In the fall of Tippoo, the most formidable part of the combination which the French were supposed to be forming against the power of the British in India, was completely at an end. It was the part, too, that admitted of the greatest extent of apprehension, because Tippoo had actually sent embassies to some of the other Mahomedan courts; and from the degree of alarm and credulity that had then taken possession of the minds of men, it was easy for imagination to transform that into a general compact. But though Tippoo could not have had very friendly feelings toward the British, who had previously deprived him of half his territories, yet he appears, in that which was construed into a conspiracy with the French, to have been a dupe rather than a plotter.

The army which took Seringapatam, although of probably double the force that there was any necessity for sending against Tippoo, was yet in the utmost peril; and famine must have compelled it to retreat had the place held out only for two weeks longer. The whole exploit, indeed, appears to have been a tissue of fatalities, only Tippoo was inferior to his enemies, both in moral and physical resources.

The fall of Tippoo was immediately followed by the division of his kingdom. The British retained all the coast country toward the west, the districts immediately adjoining the Carnatic, all the forts and strong posts at the passes, and the fort and island of Seringapatani. The nizam got a portion of the Balaghaut, equal in revenue to the part taken by the British, and lying nearest to his own territory of Hyderabad; but the strong forts upon the frontier of this were retained by the British. A third portion, smaller than any of these two, and forming the north-west of the Mysore kingdom, toward the Poonah states, was reserved for the purpose of being given to the peshwa; but he did not accept the terms upon which it was offered.

But, though this division of the territories of Tippoo "did well" for the Governor General, and his ally the nizam, and though the reserved districts held out a lure for the peshwa, whenever he should be able to free himself from the controul under which he was held by Scindiah, yet it would have probably seemed too much, even in India, if the whole of the Mysore territory had been divided among the allies, in a war that, after all, had been founded only upon presumptive evidence. Therefore, it became necessary to throw in something that should, at

least, have the appearance of being an act of retributive justice. Nor was something of the kind difficult to be found. Hyder was an usurper; and as Tippoo was only the second of the race, that race was not old enough to be legitimate, unless when strong enough to wield the sword by which its legitimacy could protect itself. Maha Raja Krishna Udiaver, the descendant of the late Hindû Rajah of Mysore, was also a child of six years old; and the restoration of him to a nominal portion, at least, of that power of which his ancestor had been most unjustly deprived by Hyder, would give a power of management, as well as a colour of justice. As the rajah had not the smallest hope but through the British, of course they could impose upon him any terms that suited their ulterior plans. Purneah, the finance minister of Tippoo, who appears to have been well qualified for the duties of his office, was continued; the forts were garrisoned by troops under the management of the Company, though in the pay of the rajah; and thus the Governor General retained the real sovereignty of the country, at the same time that he had the name of having generously placed the old Hindû legitimate upon the musnud. This war, for the overthrow of Tippoo and the partition of his dominions, forms rather an epoch

in Indian history, inasmuch as it was the first that was undertaken for the purpose of acquiring territory, and without any very urgent cause, other than the fear of the French, which was then so very general in Europe; and, also, inasmuch as it was a direct violation of the act against the acquisition of territory. It was attended with success, however; and that, probably, prevented the outcry which otherwise would have been raised against it.

The portion of the spoil which had been ceded to the nizam was not destined to remain long in his possession. The restless condition of the Maharattas made all who lived near them unsafe; the nizam wanted more British troops, and the ceded countries were given over to the British in perpetuity, in consideration of the assistance so given. This took place in 1800, just one year after the partition of Mysore; and the British covenanted to repel all hostile parties that might attempt to invade the dominions of the nizam.

When intimation was given to the peshwa of the reservation that had been made in his favour, he would not comply with the terms; and that led to a second division of the reserved districts between the British and the nizam.

The easy acquisition of so much territory from the warlike Tippoo, naturally suggested the idea



that it might be acquired by easier means in other quarters ; and the dread of French influence and intrigue was still an unanswerable plea with those who were in power at home. There were some Frenchmen in the Afghan territory, and the Afghan Shah had come as far as Lahore, with the intention, it was said, of subduing the whole of India Proper. A treaty against the French and the Afghans was, therefore, entered into with the King of Persia, who, if the shah should make toward India, was to waste Candahar and Cabul, in order to force him back ; and, in return for this, if the French should attempt to make any landing upon the soil of Persia, the British were to co-operate in preventing them. A more obvious, though more remote cause, was found for this arrangement in the province of Oude. That province was then large ; and as it had enjoyed a freedom from invasion ever since 1765, it was rich and prosperous ; but it was the frontier of the states protected by the British ; as such it demanded the presence of a large army ; and the stipulated subsidy was not very promptly or regularly paid.

It was proposed to the nabob that he should disband his army, and let their place be supplied by British troops, and that he should resign. He offered to do the latter in favour

of his son; but was told that a successor would not be necessary, as the Company would take the management of Oude into their own hands. At last he was compelled to give up the half of his territory, together with the tribute that he received from the state of Furrackabad on his north-western frontier, as a compensation to the Company for governing the rest of the territory in his name. Some of the more powerful zemindars, that had sovereign power within their own territory, attempted to stand out, but their forts were battered and taken by storm. The consequence of these transactions was a considerable dislike of the English name, and it no doubt led many of the natives, that would not have otherwise been so inclined, to favour the Maharattas, with whom disturbances began to break out.

This new policy was not confined to Oude: And first to lend an army for a stipulated sum, and then to assume the sovereignty, upon the allegation either that the subsidy was not paid, or the country not properly governed, now became the general practice, and was exercised toward the nabobs of Surat, Tanjore, and Arcot, all in the year 1801. There can be no question that, at this period of Indian history, the object was to make the British power as extended as possible, and that without much attention to

the circumstances that are understood to justify invasion and conquest in Europe. Still the process was not immediate dethronement. There were two steps to be taken: first, the native ruler was to give up his military power, disband his own army, and depend upon troops, belonging to the Company, and of course attending first and chiefly to the affairs of the Company, though paid by the native ruler. The native ruler was also to cede lands to the Company as a guarantee for the payment of the troops. Secondly, the civil power was to be taken, together with the revenue, and the native ruler to be made a pensioner on the Company.

The effect which that, or any other territorial speculation in India, would have upon Britain, is a question of costs and returns; and that which it may have had upon the great body of the Indian population is matter of observation,—of observation, of which the one half only is seen, and, therefore, no very satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from it. The territories have, in general, been got possession of, after they have just been wasted by hostility; and therefore it is not possible but that they must improve when left at peace; but the data are wanting that would enable a fair judgment to be formed, as to whether they would or

would not have been improved faster if the Company had let them alone.

There is one very obvious tendency, however,—the one of those steps necessarily leads to the other. It does that in two ways—by destroying the power of the native governor, and augmenting the expense of the government. When the military power is taken out of the hand of a prince, the civil power is worth very little,—not capable of collecting the revenue. At the same time the expense is necessarily increased, as the army of a complete sovereign forms part of the state of his court; and, in the Indian governments, formed nearly the whole of it. So constantly has the introduction of that system been followed by a falling off in the morals of the people of India, that crime has been found much less frequent among the Maharattas, than among the people of Bengal.

When this sovereignty was grasped at by the Company, it became more desirable to extend it over the Maharatta states, than over any other part of India. Their position was in the very heart of the country; the districts which they inhabited were naturally strong; and they could descend and waste almost any part of India they pleased, unless a vigilant army was kept constantly in the field. As the more powerful Maharatta chiefs still affected

to have some sort of respect for the peshwa, it was hoped that, if he would consent to accept the fatal assistance of troops, those other chiefs would follow his example, and the power of the Maharattas would come to an end in the usual way. No means were left untried to effect that purpose; but the peshwa, though he was under the power of Scindiah, seemed to be aware that the one was but an eclipse of his power, while the other would be an extinction of it.

In 1801, however, matters rendered the chances of this a good deal more probable. Holcar, the Maharatta chief of Indore, died in 1797, leaving four sons. The eldest two could not agree about the succession, and went to Poonah for the arbitration of the peshwa. Scindiah, who had the peshwa already under his controul, thought the opportunity favourable for obtaining the dominions of Holcar. Having duped the eldest of the brothers, he murdered the other, with all his attendants. The two youngest sons espoused the cause of their murdered brother; the eldest of them was murdered at Poonah, but the youngest, Jeswunt Rao Holcar, made his escape to his paternal estates, where he raised an army. That army was, in October, 1801, beaten by Scindiah. As Holcar, though beaten, could easily, from

the unsettled state of the country, raise an army, the Governor lost no time in offering a subsidiary British force to aid Scindiah in his good cause. Scindiah did not appear to be fond of the alliance. In the meantime, Holcar, who had collected a much better army than the first, proceeded toward Poonah, ravaging the country as he went. When Holcar had advanced near to Poonah, he met and totally defeated the army which Scindiah had sent against him ; and the peshwa, thrown into a state of alarm, offered to receive the Company's aid. But still the peshwa seemed to be quite aware of the condition to which the assistance would reduce him ; but Holcar having advanced upon Poonah, the peshwa, being unable to make any terms with that chief, fled to Bassein, where he signed an alliance, conveying to the Company large territories upon the Tuptee and in Gujerat, and promising to have no communication with any other state but in conjunction with the Company ; the Company, on their part, covenanting to place him on the musnud of Poonah.

Soon after the peshwa had made this treaty with the Company, the Maharatta chiefs prepared to ward off the blow which was thereby aimed at the power and independence of their nation. The moment that the treaty was completed, the



British armies were on the alert, and General Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) marched for Poonah with the advance of the Bengal army. Holcar retired before them; the peshwa was restated; and overtures of alliance were made by the British to Scindiah, to the Bhonsla rajah of Berar, and to Holcar. These did not succeed, and war was resolved upon.

This demanded a line of operations almost the whole way from the sources of the Krishna to the Himalaya,—as Holcar and the Berar rajah were in the Deccan, and the power of Scindiah extended from Broach, on the Nerbudda, all the way to Kumaon,—his French officers being on the Doab, having Agra and Delhi, and even the person of the Mogul, old, poor, and blind as he was, in their possession. The French officers were men of talents, but the natives under them, and even Scindiah himself, looked upon them with jealousy. Still it was necessary that the war should be carried on both in the Doab and the Deccan. General Wellesley was already in the latter; Lord Lake, the commander-in-chief, marched for the former; and the Bombay army was held in readiness to seize the possessions of Scindiah on the Nerbudda.

The first object of the northern army under Lake was to detach Perron from the service of

Scindiah, with all the power that he commanded, and money was allowed to be used for that purpose; but the Frenchman would not be bribed, though soon after he found it necessary to retire. Lake pushed on; and, after vanquishing the enemy in repeated battles, annexing Agra and Delhi to the dominions of the Company, and arranging matters for freeing the Mogul, closed a most successful campaign.

In the Deccan, the arms of the Company were equally successful. The enemy was not indeed quite so formidable as had been apprehended, as Holcar, though he had been understood to promise his aid, had not given it, and thus Scindiah and the Berar rajah were the only enemies, the former having also to bear the whole force of the war in the north. The British arms were every where successful: in India Proper, the Deccan, in Gujerat, and in the Circars. So that toward the close of 1803, Scindiah and the rajah sued for peace. The rajah was the first to accept of the terms; which enabled the British to concentrate their forces and march upon Oojein, Scindiah's capital. He was rather a better politician than some of the others; and though he was compelled to give up a great part of his dominions, unlimited power was given him over the remaining parts, as well as over the Rajpoot

princes in Ajmeer, who had, in as far as they could, aided the British, and he was to have the assistance of a British force without any subsidy.

Holcar was still in the field, though he had not engaged in hostilities; and toward the close of the year 1803, he took up a position which threatened the dominions of the Rajpoot Prince of Jeypoor, on the confines of Ajmeer and Agra, and was found endeavouring to excite some of the other rajahs against the British. He was applied to, but temporized, and made overtures to Scindiah. The instructions from Calcutta bore, however, that Holcar was an usurper; and that his dominions should be shared among the nizam, the peshwa, and Scindiah.

When instructions were given for the attack of Holcar's possessions in the Deccan, that country, partly from the effects of the devastation committed by Holcar and others in passing over it, and partly from the failure of the former year's rains, was in a state of famine, and the army could not march. The war was therefore began in the north, where Holcar was ravaging the territories of the British allies. Hence the war was carried toward Gujerat; but the British detachment in that quarter were in

want of provisions, and made a disastrous retreat to Agra, before Holcar. Holcar proceeded to Delhi, where only a small garrison had been left ; but these made a gallant resistance, and at the same time another detachment had penetrated into the centre of Holcar's dominions, and possessed themselves of Indore, his capital. While Holcar continued in the north, the season became favourable for marching into the Deccan : his forts there were taken, and his power at an end.

As the Jât Rajah of Bhurtpoor was favourable to Holcar, and held the strong forts of Deeg and Bhurtpoor, General Lake took the field, and proceeded to the Jumnah. General Frazer came up with, and routed the infantry of Holcar, under the ramparts of Deeg, and that fort was taken soon after. The army then laid siege to Bhurtpoor ; but it made a terrible resistance, and, after three or four attempts to storm it were repelled with great loss, the besiegers were compelled to suspend their operations. The cavalry of Holcar were, however, surprised and beaten in the neighbourhood, and the rajah, seeing the strength of his ally broken, made his peace with the Company in April 1805. A number of Holcar's chiefs having deserted, he could no longer remain in the

vicinity of the English army; therefore he retreated as far as the Punjaub: but he did not finally submit till the following year.

During the previous part of this year, Scindiah had shown hostile intentions, and had correspondence both with Holcar and with the Jât Rajah; and, had these been more successful, there is little doubt that he would have been as much an enemy as ever. Indeed the submissions which were forced upon all Maharatta chiefs could be regarded as nothing but temporizings, until time and opportunity should again enable them to assume a hostile attitude.

At home these conquests had not given much satisfaction, as, instead of revenue, which was the object and expectation of the Company, they had been productive of a very large accumulation of debt; which in India had been increased about eighteen millions and a half in the twelve years after 1793, and as the accumulation had been getting more and more rapid every year, there was no knowing to what it might have swelled. Lord Wellesley was therefore recalled; and Cornwallis, though far advanced in life, and with his health broken, succeeded. He recommended milder measures, and was in progress toward the seat of hostilities in order to carry them into effect, but he died at Benares on the 5th of October 1805, little

more than three months after his landing ; and, before the year closed, treaties were signed with Scindiah and Holcar, and a general peace was established.

The state of the country during the Maharatta war, and the disbanding of the native armies, that were replaced by the subsidiary forces of Lord Wellesley, had most pernicious effects upon the internal condition of India ; and though there has been no detailed account of the particulars, it is not improbable that the parts of India that were the immediate scenes of the war, suffered more than any country ever did in the same period, both in a pecuniary and a moral point of view. What with the march of hostile armies, what with famine, the Deccan had been completely wasted and necessity had driven a great part of the people into the jungles, where they had joined the Pindarees, or predatory bands ; and further accessions had been made to these by deserters from the armies. These predatory bands occupied the whole hilly country in the centre of India, though they were most numerous and formidable on the right of the Nerbudda. From the depressed condition of the native princes, they were in no condition to repress those freebooters ; and as the alliance with the Company was forced, and of course one i



which they could not feel very hearty, they could not have looked with much dissatisfaction upon the inroads that were made upon the territory of the Company and their allies.

With the exception, however, of the temporary occupation of Java, no war took place till the year 1814, when the Nepâlese, having extended their conquests over the other chiefs on the south side of the Himalaya, passed the British frontier, and attacked some of the police stations. Owing to some cause or other, a powerful British army was not sent forward during that season; and the detachments found that they had a more formidable enemy in these mountaineers, than any that they had met with in the warmer parts of India. In the summer of 1815, an army was marched against them; their ablest commander was obliged to capitulate, and they were driven from all the country to the west of the Cali. The treaty was not however ratified by the rajah, who collected a large army the following year; but the advance of the British army toward the capital, procured a ratification of the treaty of the former year.

About the same time some disturbance took place among the Seik States in Delhi and Lahore, and the British station at Ludheeana, upon the Sutledj, was formed to restrain the Rajah

of Lahore, and overawe the rest into an agreement with each other.

The Pindarees too became every year more formidable in their numbers, and more daring in their conduct. In 1808, 1809, and again in 1812, they had made inroads upon the British territory, committed most cruel depredations, and collected immense booty, with which they escaped in perfect safety. To watch them was difficult, as they could reach the territories of all the three presidencies with almost equal ease; and to follow them was not of much avail. They were light, armed chiefly with long bamboo spears, and mounted upon small horses, accustomed to the wild and pathless parts of the country, and therefore safe when they reached the jungles. Those causes, and perhaps a little remissness on the part of the British authorities, who had not shown quite as much alertness in restraining these depredatory bands, as in taking power out of the hands of the native princes gave the Pindarees a great deal of boldness.

By the year 1814, those bands, of which the marauding or detached parties were called Cozauks, amounted in all to about thirty thousand horsemen, and took the side of Scindia and Holcar, as they were, in two parties, within the nominal territory of those chiefs. In 1814

a body of them, eight thousand strong, crossed the Nerbudda, plundered the country as far as the Krishna, and would have passed southward into the Madras presidency had they not been prevented by the flood of that river. They returned to the north by the Godavery and the Wurda ; and though they came near the British positions, they passed safely across the Nerbudda, carrying with them an immense booty, of which they had taken possession in the most cruel manner—torturing the people in order to make them disclose where their valuables might be concealed, and butchering them in every case where the least suspicion was excited. The success of that expedition led them to undertake another, and they appeared in the Masulipatam district of the Madras presidency, in March, 1816. They remained in the territory of the Company for twelve days, during which time they plundered about one hundred and fifty villages, killed nearly two hundred of the inhabitants, wounded five hundred, and put three thousand six hundred to the torture.

The first attempt made against these plunderers was to hem them in by a line of forts along the Nerbudda, and across the elevated country to the east of that river. That defence they easily penetrated ; and it became obvious that their inroads must either be submitted to, or an attack made upon them in their native fastness.

The former would have been compromising the dignity of the Company, and endangering the whole of its power; and so the latter was resolved upon. It was arranged that as soon as the rains of 1817 should cease, they should be surrounded.

A diversion in favour of the Pindarees was made at this time, which, though it did not prevent, yet protracted their fate. The peshwa had never been sincere in the alliance that he formed with the Company, and he sought the means of throwing it off. He was detected in forming schemes with Scindiah, Holcar, and even some of the Pindaree leaders. He had been warned of his danger, but did not alter his conduct. He kept his army encamped in the neighbourhood of Poonah, and in November, 1817, he joined them. Their first attack was upon the British residency, (the peshwa had previously attempted to get the resident murdered,) and they burnt the buildings; but were twice defeated. After this, the peshwa marched backwards and forwards till June, 1818, when he surrendered, was deprived of his power, and sent to spend the remainder of his days, and his pension, on the banks of the Ganges. Soon after this affair of the peshwa, and intended, no doubt, to be simultaneous with it, the Berar Rajah, Appa Saheb

followed the same course, and met with the same fate, only he effected his escape. But the British placed a grandson of the late rajah upon the throne, and took the principal management of the state. Scindiah and Holcar were both humbled about the same time, the former without having taken the field, and the latter after very little resistance. The dominions of both were reduced, though as the reductions consisted chiefly in the restoration to the Rajpoots and other neighbouring princes of the lands which had been wrested from them, and on which no revenue could ever be collected without an armed force, the chiefs had a diminution of name and glory, but a considerable increase of wealth and peace. Scindiah's government was, latterly, well administered, as, in 1820, there was not a predatory band in his dominions; and his finances had so improved that, in 1827, he was able to lend half a million sterling to the Company. The Pindaree war had also been prosecuted with so much vigour and success in 1817 and 1818, that, by the end of the latter year, the whole of their chiefs were either captured or had surrendered; and the British found that conferring grants of land upon them was the best means of insuring their future tranquillity.

In noticing this period of Indian history, it would be injustice not to mention the operations of one of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared in India, or in any other country—the late Sir Thomas Munro. Every man acquainted with India, must be aware that that most singularly gifted person knew more of human nature, as it exists in India, than any other man. Yet it was some time before he could get a doubtful command of some few hundred troops. With those he marched into an enemy's country, and subdued, not the armies of the rulers, for these melted away at the approach, but actually the affections of the people, who brought him supplies and recruits for his little band, and organized a police to keep all quiet in his rear—well knowing that the grand object of his march was their good.

The most recent war that has in any way altered the territories or relations of the British in India, is that with the Burmese, in the eastern peninsula. The Burmese are a people intermediate between the Hindûs and Chinese. They have more physical strength than the former, and the same boastful character as the latter. The commencement of their greatness was only about the middle of the last century ; but they



extended their conquests over a number of the feeble tribes by whom they were surrounded ; and they obtained a formidable name.

In 1795, an army of Burmese (they are all soldiers) entered the Chittagong district of Bengal, in pursuit of some robbers. A detachment from Calcutta marched against them, and they left the territory, the fugitives being given up to them ; and this seems to have impressed them with the idea that they were the people that could drive the British out of India. The projects which they promulgated for this purpose were known ; but they were, in general so absurd that they were deemed undeserving of notice. About 1814, the king prepared a pilgrimage to Gaza, in Bahar, supposed to be the birth-place of Budha (the chief object of Burmese worship), at the head of forty thousand armed followers. He also sent emissaries to different parts of the Company's territories, and to places on the frontiers, to ascertain the state of political feeling among the natives. The Viceroy of Arracan went in person to Madras and Trincomalee to discover the feelings of the people in the south, and a messenger was sent to find out whether the Seiks in the north would co-operate. These embassies and inquiries were paid no attention to ; and it is probable that had further aggressions not

been persisted in, they would have passed wholly unheeded.

In 1817, however, the Burmese extended their conquests across the Garrow hills, and took possession of the small states on the left of the Brahmapootra. From that position they began to threaten the eastern parts of Bengal; and though it was well known that they could never become formidable to the government, they might have harassed the people by predatory inroads. The example of the Pindarees had taught the British rulers in India, that more distress might, in a country like that which they were called upon to protect, be occasioned by a lawless enemy than by a powerful one.

In 1824 the Burmese sovereign began to make encroachments on the south-east frontier of Bengal; and as he paid no attention to the remonstrances that were made to him, war became necessary; still, not so much on account of what he himself could do, as from the effects that his example might produce in other quarters. If there had been only the armies of "the Lord of the Golden Palace" to contend with, the war would have been soon at an end; but the country and climate had to be vanquished, as well as the people; and they proved most formidable opponents. The close jungles,

the swampy soil, and the pestilential air, were far more difficult to be overcome, and far more destructive of life, than the stockades and arms of the enemy. The victory cost dear, perhaps more so than any other of the same extent and duration; but it was gained at last, and the Burmese were constrained to abandon all claims upon the small states along the Brahmapootra and the hills; and to cede to the British the provinces of Arracan, Martaban, south of the Salaen river Tavoy, including Ye, and Tenasserim, including Mergui. The following is quoted as the account of this war and its termination, as recorded in the Royal Chronicle of the Burmese:—"In the years 1186 and 1187" (of the Burmese era) "the *kula pyu*, or white strangers of the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prame, and were permitted to advance as far as Yadaboo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no preparation whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprize, so that, by the time they reached Yadaboo their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They then petitioned the king, who in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them

out of the country." Thus the people of the East choose to register a case, in which they were the aggressors—in which, though they fought with occasional desperation, their knowledge of the *art* of war was very limited,—and in which they were beaten, and had to give up the largest, and certainly the best part of their territory.

The brief sketch contained in this and the preceding chapters, contains an outline of the principal events of Indian history, as far as they are known. In all parts, and especially in that which relates to the conduct of the British, many things have of necessity been omitted; and some of those that are among the most interesting, have been touched lightly, because they have been often noticed. From the outline, it must be evident to every one that reflects, that the population of India have, all along, been remarkably passive to the governments under which they have served; and that there is nothing national or patriotic in their attachment, or even in their religion. Present pay or present plunder has always been the motive; with that held out to them, the country or the creed of the leader appears to be a matter of indifference; and it has not signified much whether the war has been what is called regular, or what is called predatory. All have

got troops ; and when the fortune of the war has been against them, they have deserted all—left the Brahmin Peshwa just as readily as the Mahomedan or the Christian leader. Such a people are wholly unfit for being a great nation, unless they are under the direction of a people different from themselves ; and, therefore, there is little doubt that, if the British authorities were withdrawn, a number of states would be formed in the course of a very short time ; though whether that would be better or worse for them in their individual capacities, is a question not so easily answered.

The general opinion is, that of late years the condition of the people has been improving ; and that the improvement is owing to the police and other regulations that have been introduced by the British. That they must be better than when in a state of hostility, it is natural to suppose ; but we want, and never shall be able to procure, some of the data that would be absolutely necessary, before we could pronounce with certainty what has been the real effect of the British ascendancy upon the people.

What the Company may derive from India in patronage and glory, it certainly would not be very easy, and probably would not be very fair, to estimate ; but the following short statement, taken from their own accounts, as laid

upon the table of the House of Commons in 1829, will shew how pecuniary matters stood in India for 1827-8; and it is altogether exclusive of the debts and establishments at home.

### INDIAN ESTIMATES FOR 1827-28.

#### BENGAL.

CHARGE.		REVENUE.	
Expenditure	- £11,894,282	Revenue	- £14,695,998
Interest	- 1,667,034	Commerce	- 79,905
Commerce	- 179,591		
		Total	14,775,903
Total charge	13,740,914		
Surplus revenue in Bengal	-		1,034,989

#### MADRAS.

CHARGE.		REVENUE.	
Expenditure	- 5,488,208	Revenue	- 5,373,756
Interest	- 177,078	Commerce	- 28,459
Commerce	- 21,474		
		Total	5,402,215
Total charge	5,686,760		
Deficiency at Madras	-	-	284,545

#### BOMBAY.

CHARGE.		REVENUE.	
Expenditure	3,820,013	Revenue	- 2,635,023
Interest	- 41,013	Commerce	- 39,375
Commerce	- 54,551		
			2,674,398
Total charge	3,915,577		
Deficiency at Bombay	-		1,241,179



## OUTPORTS.

CHARGE.		REVENUE.	
Prince of Wales'			
Island	- 195,418	-	000
St. Helena	- 119,511	-	000
Canton	- 320,761	-	000
<hr/>			
Total charge	635,690		
<hr/>			
Deficiency at Outports		-	- 635,690

Collecting these, we have—

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
Bengal	- £14,775,903	-	£13,740,914
Madras	- 5,402,215	-	5,686,760
Bombay	- 2,674,398	-	3,915,577
Outports	- Nil	-	635,690
<hr/> Total abroad			
	22,852,516	-	23,978,941
Deduct revenue		-	22,852,516
			<hr/>
Net annual deficiency abroad	-		1,126,425
			<hr/>

This is the annual deficiency in the revenue of the Company abroad, after three years of profound peace—the Burmese war having terminated on the 24th of February, 1826; and with a debt of very nearly *thirty five millions sterling*, bearing an annual interest of more than five per cent. upon the average. The

whole of that, too, is exclusive of the debt at home, the expenses of the home establishment, and the dividends to the proprietors of stock: all of which must amount to a very large sum.

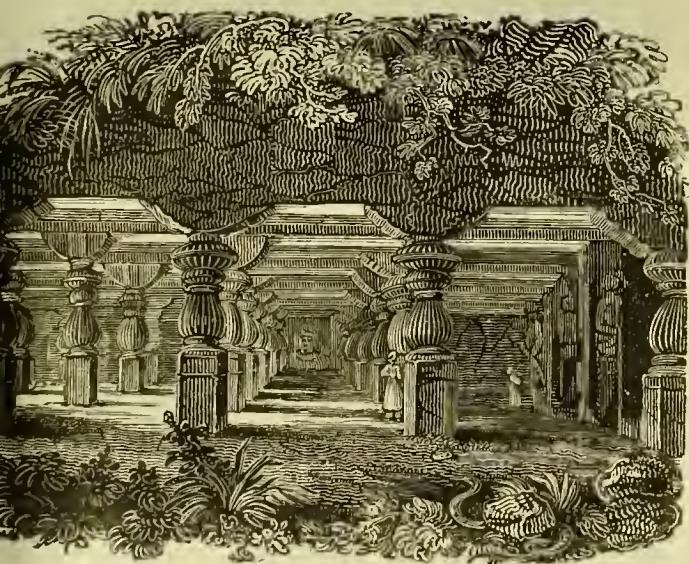
Here, though we shall not attempt to answer the question (the *onus* of that lies upon the Company), the reader will naturally put it:—“Where does this million and a quarter come from? From the sales of the cargoes outward? Not a rupee of it: these do not nearly pay the cost of the commercial establishments abroad. Nearly one half of the Company’s export cargoes consist of stores for the use of their establishments; and all the rest is absorbed in the mercantile charges in the country. As for the home trade, again, the whole value for the year ending January, 1829, was only five millions five hundred and sixty-seven thousand nine hundred and five pounds, which is less than the stock upon which the Company pay their dividends; and if, conducted as the trade is, it pay the dividend of ten per cent., it must be something very closely bordering upon a miracle. From the data that are before us, we therefore may with safety state, that the loss to the Company by governing India must be at the least two millions annually, in times of

peace; while in times of war it must be just as much more as the war costs. The pecuniary profits of the establishment may, therefore, be put aside as not really forming an element at all in the question,—because they are of such a nature as not to admit of any argument.

We have said that it would not be fair to admit into any argument, the advantages—the profits, pecuniary or otherwise—that the directors and others, who have a *controul* in the affairs of India, derive from their patronage. When one sees that patronage has been the ruin of all the Mahomedan governments of India, one is not very willing to admit even the possibility of its existence, among the directors of the Company. There is also another objection to it: if we admit the patronage, we must make that the cause of the five and thirty millions of debt; and as we can hardly suppose that the patronage can have netted the half of thirty-five millions to the directors, we must conclude that, as merchants, they would not have continued to drive a losing trade. Mere ordinary men are no doubt apt to conclude that there must be some advantages beside the mere bagatelle of salary, otherwise there would not be so much scrambling

and canvassing for the directorship ; but really nobody, but those who have had experience of it, can, by possibility, tell what may be the charm in the mere fact of being one of the governors of so many men.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE NATIVE POPULATION—RELIGION—CAVE  
TEMPLES.

ELEPHANTA.

RESPECTING the population of India many volumes have been already written, and many more might be written without exhausting the subject, or even making it very intelligible to

those who are familiar with man only as he exists in Europe. Among the mere men of the schools—and it has unfortunately been too obstinately the case to shut eyes and ears for the sake of a blind faith in them—the question of India has been too much of a mere party or hypothesis question. One party, from blind love of mere antiquity, have described the laws and usages of the Hindûs as the very best, just because they have existed so long; and the other have contended, as uniformly, that there can be no good for the people of India, unless they be ruled by the laws, and nurtered in the manners of Europe. Both are wrong; the permanence of customs is demonstration that they are bad,—that they destroy that spirit of emulation and enterprize by which alone a people can become great; and as man is, in all countries, the child of circumstances, and can be changed only by the gradual change of these, it follows, that the instant application of the laws and manners of England would have no more tendency to improve the condition of the people of India, than the instant application of the laws and manners of India would have to improve the people of England.

We are apt to overlook this dependence of mankind upon circumstances for all the difference which exist between them—for even the



susceptibility of being changed by education. They must absolutely be taught into tractableness; and those who have noticed the vastly greater difference that there is in getting an ignorant man to give up a prejudice, than there is in getting an informed one to alter an opinion, do not need to be told how very futile it is to attempt improving a people, who are very ignorant, by any thing that is contrary to their prejudices. Unfortunately, that has been too much the case with the British in India; and the mischief of which it has been productive has been proportionally great.

The population of India is immense. The amount of it cannot, of course, be known with anything like accuracy; but the following is probably as near an approximation as can be made.

The Bengal presidency,	-	-	58,000,000
The Madras presidency,	-	-	16,000,000
The Bombay presidency,	-	-	11,000,000
			<hr/>
Total British, - - -	-	-	85,000,000
Subsidiary and dependent, (say)	-	-	40,000,000
			<hr/>
			125,000,000
Outports in the Bay, &c. (say)	-	-	1,000,000
			<hr/>
Total under British controul,	-	-	126,000,000
Independent states, but awed by the British	}	-	10,000,000
arms, (say) - - -			
			<hr/>
Approximate total, not European,	-	-	136,000,000
			<hr/>
Total Europeans, about	-	-	40,000

About one European to three thousand four hundred natives ; or where they have the whole command of the government and revenue, one European to two thousand one hundred and twenty-five natives. Though distributed equally all over the country, this small number could have little or no effect upon the modes of thinking or domestic habits of the people. But they are not dispersed over the country. Three fifths of the whole are in the army ; of the remainder, the greater part are collected at the three presidencies ; so that the influence of Europeans upon the great body of Indian society cannot be very sensibly felt, if felt at all. The habits of men are never influenced by names, but by the usages about them ; and therefore, the influence that the Europeans have upon the population of India, may be tolerably well understood by considering what influence would be produced upon the manners of the people of Britain, by the presence of about seven thousand Hindûs in the country, four thousand of whom should be shut up in barracks, and the other three thousand dispersed, two thousand four hundred to London, four hundred to Dublin, and two hundred to Edinburgh,—where they should live almost solely by themselves, and employ only a portion of the lowest part of the people in the capacity

of servants ; and that these Hindûs came not for the purpose of remaining permanently in the country, but of making their fortunes as rapidly as they could, and then retiring to spend them on the opposite side of the globe. Suppose, at the same time, that these Hindûs, while they were in the United Kingdom, should take upon themselves the civil and military government, and monopolize every office of honour and emolument,—that they should degrade the King to a mere pensionary ; abolish the two Houses of Parliament and the civil courts, (there would be some room for them there, by the way, though we would not like them to fill it) ; put up the estates of the nobility to sale, for arrears of land tax ; monopolize the inland trade, and impose what burdens they pleased ;—what effect, what moral improvement, would that be calculated to produce upon the people of these kingdoms ?

That country in which such a handful could do these things would be fallen indeed,—fallen so low, as that ages of the very best and mildest sway that Englishmen, or even angels, (who, by the way, have never been very good rulers, even as auxiliaries, in things temporal) could bestow upon them, would not raise them to the very faintest perception of that public feeling

which is absolutely necessary before a people can become either moral or mighty.

No matter for the enlightenment of the rulers or the rule; the yoke of foreign bondage lies ever the heavier the more elevated the character of those by whom it is imposed, because it sinks those by whom it is borne the more nearly to the rank of merely passive domestic animals. Such a yoke may, if mild and equitable, prevent the play of the darker animal passions; but it never can inspire one manly or intellectual principle. Hounds that are duly fed in the kennel, do not worry one another for bones; but for all that, still they are nothing but dogs.

To suppose, therefore, that the mere handful of migratory Europeans that are among the millions of India can have any effect upon the intellectual condition of those millions,—above all, that it can impart to them any portion of that patriotism or nationality, or whatever it may be called, which has made the people of Europe what they are—is to suppose that which is a contradiction. The British rule exists, only because no British feeling has been inspired in the natives; and if such a feeling were to be inspired, the dominion would not last for a day.

By this it is not intended to be said that the English government in India is the worst to which the people of that country have ever been subjected. They have been under others that certainly were worse—worse, probably, than the British ever was; and there is every reason to believe that that was once a great deal worse than it is now. But still we must not delude ourselves into the notion that the people of India can ever be brought to our feeling of nationality, or to any thing that depends upon or grows out of that feeling, for the very first stirring of it would be to drive us out of the country. At the same time it does not follow that our dominion is the cause which disposes the people of India to submit to this debasing sway, (every sway that does not elevate debases,) because we could not have produced it, and also because there are evidences of its existence from the very remotest periods of history. The chief object in the making of these preliminary remarks is to show that, in estimating the character of the Indian population, British influence must be put altogether aside, and the causes sought in something older and more indigenous in the country.

Still, whatever might, in that case, be the ultimate fate of the Anglo-Indian Government itself, there is no question that if England could so

elevate the moral state of such a multitude of human beings as there are in India, (and the present number might be greatly increased), as that they should not be at once the prey of every spoiler, and instruments in the hand of every one who wishes to spoil the next district, or even their own one, it would be the most glorious achievement in the history of man; and on that account, as well as a mere feature of the portrait of India, it is desirable to look at the causes that have so long kept the Hindû in this abject state. The doing of this will be shortened, and the drawing of conclusions, which are generally a little arrogant in an author, and not over courteous to the reader, saved, by premising one or two of those general maxims, which every one knows arise out of the very nature of man, and which thus enable the reader to depend upon his own resources.

1. It will not be denied, that the most effectual way in which the talents and energies of a people can be called forth and kept alive, is to set open to them the path to honourable advancement as widely as it can be set; and that while honour or elevation already won should meet with its due respect and reward, these should be just as accessible to the next candidate, in the fair proportion of his merits.

2. That the chief reward of superior talents



and conduct, should be the offices of trust and honour in a man's native country; because the possession of these is the most exciting and gratifying to the individual, most serviceable to the state, and conduces most to public spirit and public improvement. One public servant of sterling ability and worth, is more valuable than a lac of mere conquerors, or a crore of statutes. Sir Thomas Munro, in his journeys across the Balaghaut, without a single armed attendant, produced more virtue and happiness than the conquests of Aurungzebe, or the laws of Cornwallis.

3. The offices of trust and honour in any country will always be the better filled, the wider the range of population that may aspire to them with reasonable hopes of success, if properly qualified.

4. In proportion as any great number of the people are excluded from offices of trust and honour, so must the degradation of the national character, and the quantity of vice and crime, be augmented.

5. When the national character is thus degraded, the government is both weak and extensive; and therefore the people are strongly predisposed to changes.

Bearing these in mind, let us now touch a

few points in the outline of the Indian population.

In the first place that population is made up of a number of races, in many of whose rites and observances there are shades of difference; but they stand pretty nearly all in the same relation to the government, and where they have lived long together, there have been some interchanges of customs, though nothing like a community either of manners or of observances.

Native Christians are found on the Coast of Malabar. They are partly of old importation, and partly the remains left by the Portuguese. Their whole number does not exceed two hundred thousand, and, therefore, they may be considered as having little influence upon the population.

On the west coast there are some Jews, Parsees of the ancient fire worshippers of Persia, Africans, and Arabs; but the greater part of these are employed about the coasts, and have little influence upon the population.

The Mahomedan population are pretty widely scattered over India, although much more abundant in some places than in others; and upon the average of the country these may be estimated as making from one in eight to one in seven of the whole inhabitants. There have been

a good many instances of something like reciprocal proselytism between them and the Hindûs. The lower classes of Mahomedans, instead of destroying the idols, as they did in the plenitude of their zeal and power, sometimes consult those divinities, and contribute to the oblations; and there have been instances of converts to Mahomedanism even among Hindûs of high caste. So prone, indeed, are the illiterate to follow the multitude, that even the native Christians observe some of the distinctions of caste; and yet the number of those Christians in a single small district is certainly five times, and probably ten times, as great as that of the whole European-born Christians that are scattered over India. Instead, therefore, of there being any probability that these Europeans can have any influence in changing the manners of the Hindûs, it is probably owing to circumstances that the change has not ere now been the other way. The Europeans are all persons who have got some education; they are kept aloof by their official consequence from immediate contact with the Hindûs; they are strangers, and they are, in the prime of life, more intent upon the enjoyment of pleasure and the accumulation of wealth than upon any thing else. The morning and the evening of life are the times at which changes

of creed are most generally made; and when made at any other time, they have fully as much chance of having their foundation in temporal hopes as in spiritual. Farther, the Hindûs have resisted the faith and habits of the Mahomedans, which certainly more resemble their own than those of Europeans do; and they resisted these at a time when the Mahomedans were in permanent power and splendour in the country, and when the same families of both held, age after age, the same localities, and had time to have acquired a fellow patriotism, if such had been a virtue of Indian growth. In addition to all these circumstances, the Mahomedans are still to the English as two hundred and fifty to one; and they must have been in greater numbers when they were in the height of their power. So that as, taking the whole strangers and descendants of strangers in India, they do not amount to above one-seventh of the whole population, that population must be considered as still being, and likely to be, impressed by the Hindû character, though the language of the Hindûs, and also their manners and modes of belief, vary a good deal in different parts of the country.

But, in the second place, taking all the eastern population of India,—whether from Africa or the surrounding parts of Asia; and sup-

posing that each ingredient in the mass should perform a specific effect upon the other, should we then have any more rational ground to hope for a nearer approximation to European feelings, or a greater preparation for their introduction? The page of past history, the evidence of present facts, are in the negative. Whether we turn eastward to Bûdha, or westward to the Arabian prophet, we find more physical strength under a more bracing atmosphere, and more physical daring where war and marauding are more the habitual pursuit than the arts of peace; the man who plunders the country for his dinner has always been a more daring and ferocious character than he who gives up three-fourths of his labour in order that he may live quietly upon the other fourth; and the inhabitants of cultivated districts, who have property in or on the soil, always have been, and always will be, more timid than those who have nothing but a horse and sabre, or an arm and a spear. But there is nothing of what we of Europe call virtue or principle in either; no love of country or of race—Tippoo Sultaun or Jeswunt Rao Holcar, it made little difference. The first did not hesitate to carry fire and sword into the country of the Mahomedan nizam, or the latter into that of the Maharatta sheswa. When, too, our introduction of a

system which did not suit him, and which he did not understand, had thrown the peaceable native of Bengal or Bahar out of employment and bread, he felt no more compunction at robbing and murdering than if he had been a Pindaree or a Patan.

Before we can hope that any of the native people of India can be made to be virtuous after our fashion, they must have our foundation for it. They will love their country and their government, whenever those become worth loving, and they are convinced of the fact; but they will not love either till then; and if the system toward them be the same, they will go on precisely in the same way as they have done from the beginning. There are degrees of evil, even at the most advanced parts of the scale; and there appears to be in the Hindû system something that renders man even more abject than the Mahomedan; and (which proves not much for the benefit of British neighbourhood and influence) the Hindûs of the plain of Bengal are, probably, the most abject in the whole of India—a people with more knowledge of the arts, certainly, and, therefore, better fitted for contributing to the wants of those who keep them down, than those free denizens whom we call savages, in Australia, or any where else. I shall be told, (I believe I must say *I*



here,) that the natives of Australia are without government, without laws, and without religion. But half the agony in the case of the people of India arises from their not being in the same predicament. If they could be found without religion, without laws, and without government, something might be done for them, especially by a people who are so well practised in law-making as the English. But, unfortunately, they have got those things already. As for the government—the state, by what name soever it may be called—in those parts of Asia it is despotism without alloy (I am not now speaking of the Company), and the people cannot by possibility love it any farther than they are bought and bribed to do so. But as even a good government is not a productive power, it would be strange, indeed, if a bad one were so; and, therefore, in as far as a bad government must bribe those who support it, it can have only a small portion of the people on its side, unless it carry on a system of plunder against its neighbours. That, however, is a system that never can last long; and, therefore, the usual plan is to oppress the majority of the people, in order to purchase the support of the minority. Even that is far from a safe plan, as such a government can always be overturned by much less than the

supporting of it costs. It is only buying half the supporters (generally a quarter will do, or even less) at two-thirds of the price; the people join the adventurer; and down goes the old concern. The history of India and of many other states in Asia, is one tissue of proofs of this; and we have a specimen of the bargain and sale part of it in the case of the Company, or at all events of their servants, when these first played at nabobs in Bengal.

There are other evils in a despotism of this kind: a despot can seldom get good public officers, in point of talent even, and when he does, they are apt to be dangerous to him; and when a people are exposed to continued extortion, that makes them both careless and vicious. There is always a point up to which, if a man be cheated or plundered, he will cheat and plunder; and to suppose that people will obey laws that do not protect them, would show little knowledge of human nature. The law is disliked because it is a restraint, and tolerated only because it restrains others also.

In the third place, while the governments of Asia generally, and those that have existed in India in an especial manner, have prevented all patriotism and destroyed the greater part of virtue among the people, the religions have

made as fatal an inroad upon their common sense. It is doubtful whether any intellectual religion, and certain that none that has a pure moral basis—to say nothing about one that is of divine origin—can possibly be compatible with such a depotism as destroys the love of country. A mere man, lording it in cruelty over his fellows, for no other purpose than the gratification of his own bad passions, never looks half so odious as when one thinks of the Almighty Being who made all things, for no purpose that mortal ken can penetrate, except that the creatures may enjoy themselves; and I could not easily make myself believe that any man upon whose understanding the faintest pencil of that holy light had fallen, could brook an absolute tyranny. It is often galling enough to think how sadly well intentioned men blot and mar the fair face of things, by their errors and precipitations in judgment; but if the intention were avowedly as bad as the deed, and the deed as bad as could be, the man—the nation—that would passively stand it, would shame their Maker.

As far as one can judge of the feeling by the facts, whatever the form may be, there is no religion in these cases. There is mere mummery and superstition, which, instead of elevating the mind, and leading it to virtue, becomes

a chain of ten-fold weight, in comparison with that of the mere temporal despotism.

Accordingly, in most of the religions of Asia, from that of the wandering Tartar, who performs his devotions by a tin canister turned by a smoke-jack or a water mill, on the northern Steppes, to that of the learned pundit, who rests his final hope upon grasping a cow's tail in the moment of dissolution, there is a very great deal of absurdity. It is not absurdity to laugh at ; for darkening the understanding of men is far more cruel than putting out their eyes ; but it is not the less absurd on that account. It has been the custom with those who have been fond of exaggerating every thing eastern, and especially every thing Indian, to descant upon the sublime doctrines and the lofty morality of the sacred books of the Asiatics. And as many of the languages are flowing, and as there seems to have been some floating fragments of a better book, known to at least some of the writers, there are sentences which, taken out of their connexion, and without the commentary that attempts to fill up the details, are well enough ; but if the whole be followed out, it is generally alike offensive to propriety and decency, and seems as if it had been contrived on purpose to darken the understanding, and debase the morals.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this little work, and not very consistent with the principles either of good taste or good morals to enter into any detail of the Hindû mythologies. The sooner that all mythologies are forgotten the better ; those who wish to see a pretty fair specimen may look into the first volume of “ *Mill’s History of British India* ;” though the deeds of three hundred and thirty millions of divinities that have been making and mangling worlds for more years than there are grains of sand in the globe, cannot be detailed there or any where else ; and so there is always room for every tale that every Brahmin, for any whim, or for a darker purpose, chooses to invent.

It has been remarked with great truth, that “ *when man makes a religion, he makes his god after his own image* ;” and, therefore, among pagans, each man has either a god for himself, or, retaining the name which is used by others, he applies it to his own form. The case cannot be otherwise. When man thinks at all, it is difficult to help thinking of the origin of the events and beings that he sees around him—his hut, his bow, his club, or whatever else he may have fashioned for his use, has, as such, an origin from him ; and the changes of his position, and the operations of his life, have an origin in his

volition. Thus *causing*—making things to be and events to happen—is a subject which must force itself upon him, if the more cravings of hunger and thirst, and the labour that he must undertake to assuage these, leave him any time for thinking at all. The mere facts of making and occasioning, are plain and simple matters, and in so far as they are concerned, all men are nearly agreed. Man cannot stop at these, however—he cannot think of the deed done, without at the same time thinking of the doer, and mode of operation. It is there that the subject necessarily appears to every man in a different light, and that no two, except the one shall agree implicitly to believe the other, without any free exercise of his own thoughts about the matter, can have the same notion either of the doer or of the deed done. Nor is it only from the different apprehension that each man must have of the doer, and manner of doing any one deed, that a difference in the imagining of a divinity will be occasioned. The different objects and different events will, of necessity, refer themselves to different actors and different modes of action; and, therefore, men must either abstain from thinking about the subjects that are most ready, after they have satisfied their hunger to think, or each man must become a polytheist, to whose pantheon



every new object or event, and consequently almost every new moment of his observation, will add a new god. Each of these gods in every man's mythology, would also be different from all in those of the others, unless some two of the observers and thinkers had consulted together. We must not, therefore, look upon the Hindûs with any scorn or feeling of their natural inferiority, because of their three and thirty crore of gods; because, if we had gone on without any other information than that which we could have obtained from our own thoughts, we should, probably, ere now, have had an equal number. When man is uninstructed by man, and has no tutor but the objects and events around him, he is no more likely to ascribe the flowing stream, and the rock round which it flows, to the same Maker, than he is to apply them indiscriminately to the quenching of his thirst. After we know differently, we think differently; but this is the natural theology of uninstructed man; and any one who has seen a child which had the misfortune (or, perhaps we should say, the good fortune) to grow up to the age of thought and reflection, without having learned other answers by rote, may have obtained from that child a portion of the very same mythology. If the idea of one god had come by the mere

perception of nature, their revelation had been in vain. Such an idea is not contained in any one mythology, the structure of which has been completed without any knowledge of Holy Writ; and be they eastern or be they western, when we follow them candidly, and without twisting them into an accordance with our system, we find that, not the Creator, but the thing created, is that to which they ultimately appeal. We must not, therefore, blame man in a state of complete ignorance for his plurality of gods, because he must either have a number, or be so lost and absorbed in the hardship of his external condition, as to be incapable of any thought further than how he is to eat, and thus have no gods at all.

But men are sociable, and unless they have some personal motive for concealing, that which occupies their thoughts will also occupy their conversation. In a discussion about the gods, those who command esteem or obedience in other matters, will be believed in that also, for the very same reason; and their gods will become the gods of all over whom their influence extends; and he who was a commander or counsellor in the chace, becomes a priest in religion.

Another step is soon taken. It is very natural to think that the man who tells us who or

what is the god, should know more about it than we do ; indeed, the thought is unavoidable. New events are the subjects in which men are by nature most interested ; they would have health and enjoyment ; they would avoid sickness, pain, and suffering ; they would live for ever ; and as the experience of this world is against that, the idea of another is a very natural, and almost a necessary one. But he who makes known the gods of events, must, by obvious admission, know them better ; and as the ignorant cannot have any other notion of a god than that which is, in some way or other, made up of the attributes and actions of man, it is almost a necessary belief, that the gods of events may be propitiated or offended ; and that upon these the qualities of the events will, in a great measure, depend. Hence the priest is, by a natural and almost necessary inference, clothed with a certain portion of the awe and interest which men feel for the god ; and we find with ignorant people, and sometimes with people not very ignorant upon other matters, that this is one of the most obstinate of prejudices.

One other step completes the system. If any man feels that any thing gives him power over another man, he immediately works it so as that it may make that power as great as possible. The curiosity, the wonder, and the

terror are worked upon by all those marvellous powers of giants and genii (for such are the gods of all pagans), and by the whole train of sorcery, witchcraft, and astrology ; while the more powerful passions are influenced by the example of the gods. Hence the monstrous fables and gross impurities of the mythologies ; and hence the blindness of the human understanding, at the very commencement of knowledge. Wherever the priests of an idolatry have been able to erect themselves into the sole instructors of the people, and the system has been long in operation, the degrading has been complete ; and as there does not appear to be any country where these two circumstances have been in more perfect action than among the Hindûs, the enslaving of their minds has been probably more perfect than of those of any other people ; and the system is coiled round them to such an extent, that they are hardly capable of even wishing to be delivered from it.

The practice of a religion is never better than the principles ; and, therefore, that of the Hindûs gives scope to all manner of superstition and imposture. Astrology, witchcraft, and sorcery are all in full play ; and there is hardly any species of crime for which a precedent may not be found, not merely in the practices

of the religion, but in those of the gods themselves.

The subject is also almost as hopeless as it is revolting; and there is really no promising way of dealing either with it, or with the great body of the Hindû population while it lasts. It is not universal, for there are dissenters and sceptics; and even the orthodox themselves are at variance as to the true interpretation of the sacred books. But religions, however absurd, are never to be attacked with violence; the pundits are so dexterous casuists, that it is difficult to argue with them; the conversion of one hundred millions of people would be a very formidable task; and even the grossest absurdities of the faith are so interwoven with the structure and habits of society, that the separation of them would be difficult, and, in any period to which one can look forward, impossible.

One of the worst parts of the religion of India is the degrading light in which it invariably represents the female character, not only in point of rights (which are a little scanty even in the codes of more enlightened nations), but in point of mind, and even of morals. Now, it accords with universal experience, that the estimation in which females are held is not only the criterion, but the cause, both of civilization and

of morality. It is a law of nature, that females can exert, both over the minds of children and the conduct of men, a more beneficial influence than can in any way be exerted by the other sex; that out of that influence springs the tree which produces all the fair fruit of family, and domestic, and kindred attachment, without which there can be no love of country and no grandeur of character; and, therefore, if there had been in the Hindû religion, and the code of laws that is mixed up with it, no plague spot but this, it would have been strong, almost overwhelming evidence, against the possibility of a very wholesome state of society existing in that country. But it is fortunate that Nature herself stands so far sentinel for Virtue here,—that, after the mere morning of the direst necessity is past, and the least glimmer of enjoyment has alighted upon man, not all the institutes of Menu that ever were written, not all the Vedas and Puranas, and priests, that ever existed, can make all or even many of the millions of husbands in India treat like mere domestic animals the mothers of their children, or cause all the tens of millions of sons to fling their aged mothers into the Ganges, even were the stream a thousand fold more idolized than it is. The number may be diminished by the cruelty of the law, and the demerit to the



legislator is not the less ; but that is a case in which no legislation can utterly subdue the feelings of nature.

In the judgment of reason, nothing can be more absurd than the ablutions or purifications enjoined by the Hindû faith ; and though it be very obvious to any one who is left free to form his own opinion, that they have been intended to degrade the people and keep their minds in slavery, such is the power of the Brahmins, that they are exceedingly deep-rooted and inveterate. Nothing impresses those who are incapable of forming an estimate of the intellectual nature and moral tendency of a religion, of its holiness and worth, more than the pains and privations to which those who are supposed to be deep-read in its mysteries will submit voluntarily for its sake ; and nothing tends more to exalt the heinousness of mere superstitious sins over the real guilt of moral offences, than to see a man, reputed holy, laying the lash (however lightly) to his own back, at the same time that he is confessing them with rueful visage and streaming eyes. The cause is obvious : the really vicious do not punish themselves ; the pilferer does not give his back a flogging ; the extortioner does not humble himself in the dust by the way side ; and the robber or the murderer does not court the

gallows. There are men whom all others can feel and confess to be bad ; and as the good man courts and undergoes punishment for offences of which the guilt would not be at all seen if he did not proclaim it, his virtue and purity are wonderfully augmented ; and that which he describes as guilt is, of course, disapproved in the same ratio. It is in this that the strength of great part of the Hindû system lies : as the votaries do their penances openly, and persevere in them to the extremity, they are really very formidable to the ignorant. They are rendered far more so by another consideration. The suffering Brahmin is himself holy. He has read the Vedas ; he has meditated upon divine things ; he has subdued his natural appetites, even to the extent of living a whole day upon cow-dung ; therefore, he is not only fit for tasting the Amreeta cup, of which the contents were churned out of the sea by the angels, by means of the mountain round which they got the king of the serpents, and worked the brine into suds, by pulling alternately at the head and tail of the reptile, and whosoever tastes, becomes from that moment immortal ; but he is in a condition for being absorbed into Brahm, and becoming part of the divinity itself. But woe to those for whom he undertakes all these vicarious sufferings ! Millions of years must

their guilty souls migrate through the vilest of reptiles, before they be allowed to find rest, even in hell itself. It is in this that the mischief to the people lies. If the whole consequences of the act were confined to the devotee, Hindûs might be apt to smile at him, or at most to pity him, just as Englishmen would ; but when it is done for a purpose—that of compelling them, under spiritual fears, to do that which they would not do by all the efforts of physical force, it assumes quite another character.

The cases in which those voluntary sufferings of the Brahmins, or what they may cause others to suffer, and be thereby themselves polluted, and bring infamy and disgrace in this world, and certain perdition hereafter, upon individuals, are so many, that it would be vain to attempt an outline of them, or even a specimen. Among others we may mention two, the *Khoor* and the *Dherna* ; though it be but fair to notice that in those places where the British power is established, the more inhuman rites are, of late, much on the decline ; and as they have never been so frequent in the parts where the Mahomedan power was never fully established, we are never sure how much of them may have been produced by the desire of the people to escape from the oppressions of their conquerors, though that desire could not have produced the whole, or

even have had any effect in the production of those that we are about to notice, as the threats held out by them could have had no effect whatever upon the followers of the prophet.

The Khood was an incantation, by which it was intended to resist the real or supposed extortion of the government, in collecting the revenue or rent. The Brahmins, after the proper ceremonies, make a pile of wood, of a circular form, upon the top of which they place an old woman, or a cow, according to the desperate nature of the case; the last, in consequence of the sacred character of the animal, being used in the extreme cases. They then surround the Khood with lighted brands or torches; and if the party proceeds to levy the demand, against which they are performing the Khood, they light the pile, and the sacrifice is completed; and if the aggressor be a Hindû, the retribution to him is terrible. There are not many instances of the performance of this ceremony noticed by Europeans; most likely because the districts with which they have been longest acquainted have been under Mahomedan collectors.

The Dherna, though now forbidden in the British parts of India, was a more singular exhibition; and as it could only take place, or at least be heeded, as between Hindû and Hindû, it was much more frequent. There is little

question that it originated with the Brahmins, because, whether it be done for their own benefit only, or they be hired to do it for another, they have always a profit by it ; and it is done in perfect safety. The common occasion of it is, or rather was, for the recovery of a debt, by a more certain and summary process than that of the courts of law, and sometimes for sums that could not be recovered in those courts, though as to the justice of the latter case, the pundits were not altogether agreed.

Dherna means destitution, or woe, and implies as much as that the creditor must perish if the debt be not paid. The Brahmin comes, and, watching an opportunity when the debtor is at home, seats himself down at the door, armed with a dagger in the one hand, and a vial of poison in the other ; taking care that, if possible, his victim shall see him. The dagger and the poison are not for the debtor, but for the Brahmin himself, who would instantly swallow the one, and plunge the other into his breast, if the debtor should offer to escape from the house ; and having occasioned the death of the Brahmin is a crime for which there is neither forgiveness nor expiation. The Brahmin fasts ; and to eat while a Brahmin is in dherna, is just the same as to kill him ; so that the debtor has no alternative but to fast also. Even then, it

is no wager of starvation, in which the debtor has any thing like fair play. He himself may die like a dog, as he is ; but not so if he should outstarve the Brahmin. That would still be the same ; and, therefore, the debtor has no alternative left but to pay, or be starved to death, under the horrible thought that, before he can by possibility escape in that way, he may have incurred the pains of everlasting damnation. The old English plan of pressing to death with a stone those who would not plead in the courts of justice, was savage enough ; but it wanted the eternal terrors of the dherna.

There is only one way in which the eternal part of the dherna can be got rid of ; and that is, by the wife of the party that causes the Brahmin's death, whether by poison and steel, or by starvation, becoming a *suttee* ; that is, burning herself voluntarily upon the funeral pile of her husband. The anxiety which the sacred writers of the Hindûs shew to have all widows perform that most barbarous rite, to enforce it as duty, and to encourage the performance by the highest temptations of future felicity, which the most extravagant fantasies of their mythology can hold out, is a proof of how much study they devoted to every means of degrading the human mind. “ The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's



corpse, shall equal Ahrundhati, and reside in the Swerga; accompanying her husband, she shall reside as long in Swerga as there are thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body." The promise, after all, is but a doubtful one, as the thirty-five millions of hairs is rather beyond the actual number; but still the promise is artfully put, as nothing could be more fascinating to a woman who had had any attachment, than the prospect of living with her husband in heaven, for a period that had so long a number in it. That she may make sure of finding her husband there, it is further declared, that "As the snake-catcher forcibly draws the serpent from his earth, so she, bearing her husband from hell, shall with him enjoy the sweets of heaven, while fourteen Indras reign. If her husband had broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, or killed a Brahmin, she expiates his crime."

Of the mortifications to which the fakirs voluntarily submit, enough may be found in any of the common books; and the characters of all the penances are equally remarkable for their cruelty and their absurdity. The descriptions in the books of the Hindûs are not, however, to be taken quite in a literal sense, inasmuch as hyperbole and exaggeration are the characteristics of Eastern language. Still there is quite

enough of truth to make them very revolting to strangers, and very debasing to the minds of the people among whom they are practised.

Difficulty and danger in the performance are, indeed, the chief recommendations to any religious ceremony with the Hindû. The splendid temples which are excavated out of the rocks at Elephanta, Elora, and several other places, have not much of sanctity about them, though there are a few Brahmins at most of them. The temples of the Jains, in the south and west of India, are of better architecture.

Besides the daily prayers and other ceremonies, and the days of fasting, of which there are many in the year, pilgrimages to holy places, form a great part of the ceremonial of the Hindû faith. The places of these were usually those that were the most inaccessible; such as mountain tops, hot springs, cascades, caves, the junctions of rivers, and wild and pestilent places by the sea-shore. The multitudes that throng to some of these places are immense; and there are still instances of self-immolation, though they are not so numerous as formerly, and probably the former accounts were exaggerated.

Of those holy places, the most renowned is Juggernaut, though it is mean, filthy, and desolate, and the idols are remarkable for their ugliness. Juggernaut, which means “the

Lord of the World," and is one of the thousand names of Vishnû, in the avatar or manifestation of Krishna, is situated on the sea coast of the Cuttack district of Orissa, rather more than three hundred miles south-west of Calcutta. The gods, on whose account the place is so sacred and so much resorted to, are, in reality, two princes of the Oude, Bali Rama and Krishna, the two conquerors, and Subhadra, their sister. But the two brothers are identified, Bali Rama with Siva, and Krishna with Vishnû; and the sister is identified with Cali Durga, the female power or energy of Siva. This practice of identifying the divinities with persons whom we may suppose to have been real, is not uncommon in India; but whether it has been assumed by them when alive, or imputed to them after time had seasoned their memories, is not known. The gods themselves are, indeed, only personifications of the different energies of Brahm; and the ministering brahmîns, though not very willing, and in all probability not very able, to give minute details of the mysteries of Juggernaut, say that it is really the invisible Brahm that is worshipped there; and that the idols are made ugly on purpose to frighten men out of their sins. The sanctity is very great, however, as any Hindû who eats of the food which is cooked for the

idols, is absolved of every sin, even from that most terrible of all sins, the killing of a cow.

These idols are merely wooden busts, like a human head on the top of a pillar ; and they are very rude, as well as very ugly. The female deity is without hands or arms, but the males have a sort of arms that stick forward from their ears ; and upon days of procession, after Juggernaut has been seated on his car, gilt feet, ears, and hands, are added to him. Siva is daubed over with dirty white paint, Juggernaut with dark blue, and Cali Durga with yellow. Besides those three principal divinities, spaces are allotted within the sacred enclosure for any other, so that any Hindû may meet with the favourite object of his worship at Juggernaut. The lord of the world is very accommodating too ; for though the place and the worship be especially his, he most obligingly allows his elder brother Siva to lead in the procession. The officiating priests show their wisdom in that arrangement, as the worshippers of Siva are more numerous than those of Krishna. The number of pilgrims that resort to Juggernaut fluctuates ; being sometimes less than forty thousand, and at other times more than one hundred and thirty. The spectacle is a source of revenue to the East India Company, who probably make about

one thousand pounds a year of it, but it is very much on the decline. Indeed it seems that, being known generally, even by the Hindûs, is a sure means of destroying the sanctity of a place ; and there is little doubt that the foolery of Juggernaut (for it is at least a most egregious piece of foolery) will diminish farther under the perfect indifference of the English, than it did under the continued persecution of the Mahomedan<sup>s</sup>. These at first endeavoured to put down the rites, but they never could succeed, as the devotees carried off and concealed the idols. A tax was then adopted which was continued as well by the Maharattas as the Mahomedans, and it is from that tax that the British revenue arises.

It must be admitted that the exhibitions at the festival are a degradation to human nature. Setting aside the deaths by the car, which have probably always been more accidental than any thing else, the whole is a monstrous absurdity. The chief honour of the sacred caste consists in begging ; and they address themselves to the pious by all the absurdities of voluntary infliction. One lies for the whole day tied neck and heels with a pot of fire on his stomach ; another takes the opposite ordeal, and lies prone in a puddle of mud and water ; a third buries himself in the sand ; a fourth

lies stretched on the surface, with his mouth and eyes crammed full of the most offensive substances ; and a fifth stands the whole day on his head, with his feet upwards in the air. It is hardly possible indeed to imagine an attitude, or an operation too absurd for being the favourite mode by which some one shall demonstrate his sanctity,—or rather show to what a low ebb the human mind may be reduced by superstition.

The object of all this mummary is begging ; and in addition to mummary, the whole arts of priestcraft are put in requisition, so that the quantity of alms collected when the attendance is great, is really immense. The gifts which are made by pilgrims are, indeed, the chief support of the town, which contains more than five thousand houses, most of them inhabited by ecclesiastics or teachers of the mysteries of Juggernaut ; and the Rajah of Khoordah, a neighbouring pergunnah, is high priest of the great temple. When the processions are to take place, the cars are brought in front of the temple, those of Siva and Juggernaut being forty feet high, but very clumsy,—the principal ornament of the latter being a piece of English broadcloth, the gift of the Company. The idols appear to be brought out for execution, rather than homage, as the priests



drag them along by ropes about their necks, while the people utter the most discordant yells, and perform the most ridiculous and indecent gesticulations, and the pious beggars wallow more deeply in the mud and filth, and beastify themselves with more unclean substances than ever.

When they are seated on the cars, the rajah proceeds to sweep the way, and the people seize the ropes, and drag on to the country palace. It is said, however, that this labour is performed more for amusement and for keeping up the resort to a place which is naturally so unproductive that but for the pilgrims it could not be inhabited, than for any religious love of it; and also that as many are drawn to Juggernaut by the indecency as by the sanctity. As a spectacle it certainly displays nothing that can captivate a mind even in the very rudest state of thought; and that may be one of the reasons why the food cooked for the idol is so very holy. It must be presented before it can be dressed; a small part only is dressed; and as it pardons every sin, and may be eaten by the lowest of the regular castes, it must be admitted that the priests of Juggernaut have taken the most effectual means for bringing offerings to their temple.

In the architecture of Juggernaut there is

just as little to admire as in the statuary and the rites. The temple is large, but has no claim even to very ordinary elegance. The external part is a square inclosure, of a strong stone wall, six hundred and fifty feet in the side, and having a principal gate on the east, guarded by two large but ill formed griffins, and the statue of Hûnimaun, the monkey general of the two brothers. From this gate a broad flight of steps leads up to a terrace, twenty feet higher than the entrance, and four hundred and forty-five feet in the side. Two apartments lead from this to the sanctuary, which is a clumsy tower, having a base of thirty feet square, and a height of one hundred and eighty feet above the terrace. The two brothers and the sister occupy this sacred retreat ; but as many of the other gods of the country as there may be room for are admitted within the inclosures. The great object of the priests at Juggernaut seems to be to attract persons of all the faiths of India, and also of all the degrees of morality, as vice is just as much tolerated as heresy. And yet the high priest of the place is a sovereign prince, and the whole of the priesthood and the ridiculous beggars that have been mentioned, belong to that class, which, unless at such a place of alms-giving as Juggernaut, the great body of the people are not so much as allowed

to approach. When holy men are allowed to do these things, and become the more holy for the doing of them, when they arrogate to themselves all honour, and forbid it to the rest under the pain of damnation,—in more ridiculous but certainly not on that account, less alarming forms than are to be met with in any other superstition, we may cease to wonder at the condition of the people, or at their passiveness under conquest. Of some of the institutions of India, of which, from the names, we would be apt to form much more lofty notions than of such a place as Juggernaut, the real application is to the full as ridiculous. Surat, on the Tuptee, was one of the largest cities of India, of great antiquity as a place of commerce, and it still contains between one thousand and two thousand inhabitants, and has a considerable trade in cotton-wool. Well, if the “merchants’ hospital” in a European town, of one tenth the size were mentioned, the idea with which one would be impressed would be that of a school for the young, or an asylum for the aged. But the Banyan (merchants’) hospital of Surat, is no such thing. It is, or at least was, at the time of the latest accounts, none of which are, however, very recent, a receptacle for animals including the most loathsome vermin, which were nursed, fed, and protected

there with the greatest care, while, in all probability, the nearest relatives of the parties were in a state of the greatest privation. It would be easy to multiply facts, but these must suffice; and without any of the colouring that is usually thrown over them, they do establish a very strong case against the Hindû faith.

Nor have we any good ground for supposing that the worship has been at any time more rational, or calculated to have a better influence upon the minds of the people, than at present. The worship of Juggernaut is anterior to the time of the Mahomedans, or to the presence of any conqueror in the country of whom we have even any tradition, except Juggernaut and his brothers. The present temple of Juggernaut was finished in the year 1198, just four years after Delhi had yielded to the Mahomedan yoke, and they did not extend their power over any part of Orissa, till nearly four hundred years afterwards. They did not even then conquer the high priest of Juggernaut, who remained independent among his rocks, his bamboo jungles, and his pestilent atmosphere, until he yielded to the British in 1804.

The cave temples in the west of peninsular India form a sort of anomaly among their religious edifices; and would, were it not that the idols are decidedly Hindû, lead one to sup-

pose that they had been constructed by a strange people, perhaps, from Egypt. Estimating them by the mere labour that their excavation must have cost, they are entitled to rank among great works; and some of the carvings upon them are by no means destitute of taste. Those cave temples are mostly confined to a small district; the isles of Elephanta and Salsette in the harbour of Bombay, and Elora and Carli, above the ghauts, in the province of Aurungabad. Of these perhaps the most splendid is at Elephanta, though the excavations in some of the other places are more numerous. They partly belong to the Buddhists, and partly to the Brahmins; with the latter Siva is the favourite; as though the great idol at Elephanta contains all the three manifestations of Brahm, Siva is most frequently repeated, and he appears with the symbols of his leading attributes—the serpent as eternal, the skull as the destroyer, and the infant as the reproducer. Laborious as the excavation of those caves must, however, have been, they have no sanctity, and hardly any legend but their imaginary date; so that by whoever they may have been constructed, the work must have been one of mere local ostentation; and in no way connected with the general religion of the country. It would, indeed, have been

singular had the case been otherwise. Where consecration is performed by smearing with cow-dung, it would be wonderful, indeed, if any thing splendid had been rendered necessary in the temple. The rude tower, the wooden blocks, and the lumbering cars at Juggernaut are much more consistent with the ritual of the Brahmins; and they conspire with that ritual in constraining one to believe that either the system had been the natural state of men in a very rude age, or that it had been artfully intended to keep the minds of the people in the most grovelling state.



CHAPTER VII.

CASTES AND DIVISIONS—LAWS—TENURES—  
AND HABITS.



PLOUGHING.

IF we had no farther knowledge of the matter than the mere saying, we would be very apt

to doubt the possibility, not only that the absurd ceremonies of the Hindûs could have remained in existence even from the time of the building of the temple of Juggernaut, but that they should have existed at all. But there are corroborating circumstances; and even if there were none, there remains enough of absurdity (not in the religion, but no thanks to man for that) in the laws of England to show with what passiveness even very well informed nations will submit to very ridiculous and oppressive measures, if they have been established for ages. There seems to be in human nature a facility for being tempered to custom, as it is to climate; and provided that it has been the practice among our fathers, and we have been habituated to it from our earliest infancy, we do not easily see the absurdity, or even feel the pressure. And, within certain limits, the principle is a good one, and is the foundation of all society. Were it not for that, every man's hand would be against his neighbour, and there would be nothing but strife in all societies, even the very best informed. The number that live by reason is always but a small minority. The greater part have no guide arising out of themselves, but their passions; and were it not that these are controlled

by imitation, the world would be very turbulent, and very wicked.

But, like all other principles that are good in measure, this may be converted into an evil of the first magnitude; and that which, properly used, would surely lead man onward to improvement, may be so perverted as to chain him down where he is, and prevent him from moving at all.

That has been most fatally the case with the Hindûs; and has been so from the very earliest period at which we have any information respecting them. It is as difficult to trace the origin of the division of ranks, or *castes*, as the Europeans have styled them, among the Hindûs, as it is to find out why any god should be pleased with a man for cramming his mouth with straw and his eyes with dust, or standing idle and useless upon his head from morning till night, or broiling himself among fire pans under a Bengal sun—ay, or wearing an iron girdle round his body, or walking with peas in his shoes to the chapel of our Lady of Loretto. Those who have learnt to form an intellectual notion of the deity, never can understand how these foolish fancies originate, and would question the possibility of them, were it not that the proofs are irrefragable. But the proofs are so; and the evidence of history is

also strong to prove that when men do believe those absurdities, they can always very easily be made to believe, or practice, any other absurdity that can be grafted on the same foundation.

One of the most common of these addenda has been a division of ranks, not founded upon the natural and moral differences of men, which necessarily produce a division of that kind, in the more active and refined, as well as in the ruder states of society ; but a superstitious distinction, without any natural or moral cause. A distinct priesthood, not of men educated for the sacerdotal office, and on that account presumed to be of superior learning and endowments, but hereditary holy men, whose sacred characters could not be even stained, by the crimes of which when other men are guilty, they are either expelled from society, or rendered odious in it, is, as has been said, the form under which this additional superstition finds the most profit in showing itself. With the exception of christianity, this has been the case with all the religions that ever were professed ; but in no case has it been carried to such a length as among the Hindùs ; for there it descends to the bottom of society, and may be made so to operate even upon menial servants, as to drive them into the woods, like wild

beasts ; and thus, while there are jungles and fastnesses in the country, keep up a continual succession of outlaws and robbers.

The Hindûs have, from the first accounts that we have of them, been divided into castes ; and probably, though the ancients had not the same familiarity with them as the moderns, into outcasts, or those who had broken the rules of the castes and formed no part of society.

The original castes of the Hindûs are four ; *Brahmins*, or priests—not necessarily all priests, indeed, but being all holy, and having all the priests of their caste ; *Cshepterees*, or warriors and rulers, though inferior to Brahmins, even if the Cshepteree were an emperor, and the Brahmin a beggar ; *Vaissyas*, who are to find the necessities and comforts of life, to cultivate the ground, to carry on trades, and transact business as merchants ; and *Sudras*, who are to labour, and perform all manner of menial drudgery. Each caste is divided into a number of classes, which, though they have the general privilege, or want of privilege, that belongs to, and is characteristic of the caste, have certain adjunct peculiarities of their own ; and in addition to these, there are many varieties of impure caste, or of those who have no caste at all. It would not accord with our

limits to notice all, or indeed any of those subdivisions in detail ; and it is not necessary for our purpose ; for, the single fact of the castes, and the possibility of losing caste, without the necessity of any thing that can morally be regarded as a crime, are quite enough to shew that the construction of Hindû society is decidedly calculated to debase the character of the people.

The origin of those castes is quite in accordance with the origin of other things, as stated in the sacred books of the Hindûs. Brahma, at the same time that he produced the Vedas out of his mouth, produced the Brahmins out of the same orifice, in order that those books might not want interpreters. That these again might not be at a loss for protection, or subsistence, or service, he produced the Cshepteree from his arm, with strength to wield the sword, the Vaissya out of his thigh, with industry and skill to prepare the productions of the earth for the use of the Brahmin ; and the Sudra out of his foot, that they might not be above the meanest offices.

Absurd as this account of the origin of the four principal castes is, it is necessary in order to give permanence to the institution, as no basis but a religious one could possibly sustain such a structure. Whether the original



contriver had meant so or not, it is also well calculated for keeping up the influence of the Brahmins. The chances are that, from the provisions that are made for the losing of caste, the Sudras and outcasts shall always be more numerous than all the others; and that thus the proportion of the people that hold all the others in subjection, shall be very small.

The Brahmin is lord of all the other classes,—standing, as it were, intermediate between them and the gods. He is the fountain of divine knowledge, and divine favour. All the other classes may not even read the sacred books; those books are so contrived, that the reading of them without an explanation is of very little use, and the interpretation belongs to the Brahmin alone. In like manner, the gods are as indifferent to the fate of the rest of mankind, as they are to their instruction; and thus were it not for the intercession of the Brahmin,—and he is under no obligation to intercede, unless he be duly honoured and rewarded for it,—the rest of the people would be overwhelmed by misfortune, and perish in sin.

The Brahmin is thus an object of adoration. His vices do not much affect his sanctity, and as his wisdom and power are intuitive of the caste, and not of the man—illiterate he is wise, and feeble he is powerful. Even the gods

themselves are in so far dependant on the Brahmin. It is natural, therefore, that he should be absolved from the ordinary ties and duties of man. Honour the king is the commandment in more rational faiths; but the law of Menu demands that the king shall honour the Brahmin—that reverence to that sacred persons shall be his first and most binding duty. The Brahmin is also armed with extraordinary powers, whereby he can maintain his own dignity. He has power over whomsoever he may consider his enemy, even though that enemy be the most powerful monarch; and as it would not be quite safe for the Brahmin to give him merely physical power, in which others might be a match for him, the power with which he is invested is mystical. He can by his incantations destroy the most numerous and best appointed armies. Those who do not reflect may be very apt to think, that this belief could not remain in a country where Brahmins and those whom they supported have been beaten so often and so easily; but nothing is more natural than for ignorant people to believe in the power of enchantment. The Brahmins, who are the teachers of the people, studiously keep them from making any inquiry or observation into causes and effects, and nothing but a knowledge of these can prevent that which is

the foundation of all belief in sorcery,—the supposition that all events, however trifling, are produced by supernatural agency. It is not very long since the learned and the royal in Britain avowed this belief—wrote about it, and acted upon it; the illiterate have a good deal of it still; and even those who have got a great deal of the external forms of instruction have remains of it, and, were it the fashion, would be open believers still. There is no means of getting rid of that superstition, but by a system of vigorous thinking; and as even the learning of the Brahmins, however cunning it may be in hoodwinking men for the purposes of delusion, has nothing of philosophy in it, there is no doubt that the Brahmins themselves believe a great deal of the fooleries they inculcate. We are sometimes apt to give the priesthood of a superstition credit for a great deal more wisdom and sagacity than, in the nature of things, they can deserve. Men really cannot deal in superstition as a trade, without being superstitious themselves; and there is no doubt that the Brahmins believe the fooleries that they teach. Their purpose, to the rest of the people, no doubt, is an intention to deceive, for that must be the basis of the instruction of such a priesthood, otherwise their system could not

last; but there is just as much reason to believe that they are themselves the dupes of the system. If they were not, they would not submit to martyrdom for it, or to those rites that are more degrading to human nature than any martyrdom. We may rest assured, that if the majority, or even any considerable part, of the Brahmins, were convinced that their system were a delusion, it would not last long. Among us in the west, it was the priests who were the active reformers of religion; and if there were to arise a few Luthers and Knoxes among the Brahmins, we should soon see reformation in India.

The chances are against their appearance, however. The honour and power which they possess as Brahmins, and without anything in office or acquirement upon which to ground these, are as powerful a fetter upon the minds of the Brahmins, as the divisions of castes are upon the rest of the Hindûs. But lest the merely mystical superiority should not have been sufficient, there are many personal privileges and immunities in supplement. The slightest offence offered to a Brahmin is a serious crime; and if the lower castes shall dare to speak harshly to him, or even sit upon his carpet, they are subject to the most dreadful punishments. No crime of which a Brahmin can be guilty, can

affect either his life or his goods ; a king, even though dying of want, must not tax him ; he must be the interpreter of the law (which is all so contrived that it needs interpretation), and neither the subordinate magistrate nor the king, can administer it in any other way than as the Brahmin directs. The acquisition of wealth is rendered much more easy to the Brahmin than to anybody else. If he borrows money, he, by law, pays only one per cent. per month ; while a Cshepteree pays one and a half, a Vaissya two, and a Sudra five. If he finds that which belongs to another, he is allowed to keep five-sixths of it ; whereas a person of any other caste who finds even that which is his own, must give a part of it to the Brahmin as having sent him the good luck. Giving to the Brahmin is a duty inculcated upon all occasions ; and with him beggary is an honour ; he is too sacred for working for his bread. Thus beggary is inculcated among the Hindûs, inasmuch as he who subsists wholly by that means, and has not one endowment or virtue to recommend him, is more honourable than any other man can become by the most honest and assiduous use of the first rate abilities. This beggary is kept continually before the eyes of the people, because their worship is a continued performance of rites, and a part of every rite is an

oblation, which goes to the Brahmins, or in part to the females of abandoned character that are very often kept in or about the temple, in order further to increase its sanctity.

Had the Hindû religion no more influence upon their modes of life than has been already stated, it is easy to see that it must destroy all the better parts of the character. But it goes farther: the privileges of the Brahmins chain down the people *en masse*; and the regulation of the other castes, destroy that power of combination by which they might be enabled to react against their tyrants.

The Cshepteree, though far below the Brahmin, and unable to rule or understand the law, without the council and interpretation of the Brahmin, is yet so much elevated above the other castes that they must approach and look upon him with the most profound reverence. As this caste formed the fighting men under the regular Hindû governments, the two industrious castes of the people were under military as well as sacerdotal despotism. The monarch may raise for their support what revenue he pleases at the advice of the Brahmin, provided no part of it is paid by the Brahmin himself. The burdens and punishments to which this military caste are liable, are heavier than those that fall upon the Brahmins, but



they are not so heavy as those that fall upon the two lower castes.

The Vaissyas are not quite so much below the military caste, as that caste is below the Brahmins; but the Sudras are at an immeasurable distance below even the Vaissyas. The most remarkable characteristic of that unfortunate caste is that they are not to be taught, or to acquire property. That is the law, but it is plain that it cannot be in all cases obeyed; and the number of impure castes, and persons who have no caste, are so very many, that even a Sudra is far from being at the bottom of society: while the sacred Brahmins themselves are found serving in the ranks of the Anglo-Indian army as private soldiers.

Of acknowledged impure castes there are about six-and-thirty. Some of these are so utterly vile, that their shadow pollutes that over which it passes. Even the Sudras are prohibited from prying into the mysteries of religion. "If," say the laws, "a Sudra reads the Vedas, or listens to them, heated oil, wax, and melted tin, shall be poured into his ears: if he gets them by heart, he shall be put to death;" and yet those Vedas contain a portion of the law by which the conduct of this very Sudra is to be regulated. The subdivisions of the Sudra caste arising from occupation and other circum-

stances are very many, and they are in some cases, as in that of the Nairs in Malabar, the chief proprietors of the soil.

Those who are fond of making theories, and never look at the facts around them, are apt to see in this subdivision of the working classes of India, and restriction of them to the professions of their fathers, some advantage to the arts. This was once the general opinion among the school historians (not those who compiled school books, but those who studied human nature in the closet); but it is contrary to experience, and contrary to what sound theory would point out. Among us the eminent in the arts are usually originals; and though it does sometimes happen that the son, following the same profession, is superior to the father, the reverse is so much more frequently the case, that inferiority in the son is the rule, and superiority merely the exception. Why the opinion should ever have been held, and why it should be held even now by some who write sensibly enough upon other matters connected with India, it would be of little consequence to inquire. It is enough that it is a fallacy, as every thing must be that tends to force men to do that, in the way of profession, which may be contrary to their inclination.

We cannot better close this short sketch of

the Hindû castes than by a slight notice of the order in Malabar. The chief distinctions there are Brahmins ; Nairs, soldiers, or proprietors of land ; Tairs, cultivators ; Mulears, musicians, and conjurers ; and Poliar, or labourers. The first three are freemen : the last are slaves, bound to the soil. The following are their respective distances :—1st. From a Brahmin : a Nair, beside, but not touching ; a Tair, thirty-six yards off ; a Mular, about sixty ; and a Poliar, ninety-six. 2nd. From a Nair : a Tair, twelve yards off ; a Mular, about sixteen ; and a Poliar, ninety-six. 3rd. From a Tair : a Mular may be beside, but must not touch ; and a Poliar, sixty yards off. 4th. A Poliar must not come near a Mular, or any of the others, but must keep his distance, and cry aloud to them. And yet even the Poliar is a sort of gentleman, as compared with a Pariah, or impure person. These Pariahs are out of the pale of society altogether ; they eat carrion and even beef, which last is a deadly sin. They live in the woods, in a state of the greatest privation.

There would be no end, however, of tracing the effects which the distinction of caste produces upon society in India. They are everywhere strange enough, and they are very varied. The same caste is far from being a

general body all over the country ; for there are such degrees of sanctity among even the Brahmins, that those of one place would be defiled by associating with those of another ; and the Brahminical religion is farther confounded in some places with that of the Budhites and Jains, and the mountaineers, who do not set much value upon the forms of any of the regular religions, as they are in all probability remains of races anterior to the Brahmins, augmented in number by those who have either lost their caste, or been driven out of society by oppression.

Of the Hindû law it is hardly possible to give a sketch that can be intelligible. It is in a great measure founded upon their religion and upon caste ; the penal portion of it is peculiarly cruel and inhuman ; and there are many more forms of trial by ordeal than there were in Europe, even in the dark ages. Perhaps no code of laws is intelligible without interpretation, even to the people among whom it is administered ; certainly the law of England is not ; and it would be too much to suppose that the law of the Hindûs could be much better. In as far as the ancient law of the country is considered, the Brahmins are, as has been said, the interpreters ; and therefore it is not to be supposed that any stranger can

understand it. There have been translations of some of the books, and also compilations; but, as much of the law of every country is founded upon usage, those translations cannot be supposed to give a more clear or comprehensive view of the real administration, than a translation of the English statute book would give of the practice of the English courts. But, uninformed as Europeans must necessarily be in the nature of those laws, it is by them that private property and private misunderstandings and disputes are still regulated in India. Though in the repeated conquests of that country, army has fought with army, just as in other places, the labouring classes have not been altered. The conquerors, whether Asiatic or European, could not have subsisted upon the land, and paid the same revenue to the state out of its produce as was paid by the Hindû, and therefore they must always have felt it their interest to leave the people to cultivate the lands. Those people had another protection: they seldom had much that was worth plundering; and their houses are of a kind that are easily rebuilt; so that though they were scattered during the inroad, many of them killed, and others starved in the jungles where they took refuge, what remained of them when the storm was over, returned to their old lands, and it was the interest of whoever might

hold the throne, not only to allow the labourers to re-occupy the fields, but to order that, for the more easy and abundant collection of the revenue, the old head man, or potail, should have controul of the village. Indeed, so well were the Mahomedan conquerors aware that the country would thrive best, that is, yield the greatest revenue, with the smaller details of civil regulation in the hands of the Hindûs, that they not only permitted them to hold these, but even many of the more important civil offices immediately connected with the empire. They saw the power which religion, caste, and the laws and customs connected with, or growing out of these, had upon the people, and they contented themselves with the royal revenue, and the military power and pomp, leaving the minor details just as they found them.

The whole system of Hindû government was founded upon the government of one village; and there was built upon that a succession of despotisms, each waxing greater and greater, till it arrived at one of the greatest of the native kings, or even of the Mogul Empire under Aurungzebe himself. If an accumulation of small states took place, a portion of revenue was taken from the chiefs or rajahs of the smaller ones of which that was made up, and they were at the same time freed from



that part of their expense which consisted in the keeping up of a military establishment. And when, on the other hand, a large kingdom was broken up, the small rajahs got the whole of the revenue, and with that the expense of defending the country. By the laws of Menu, the lowest of these feudal chiefs was the lord of one town or village, the next the lord of ten, after that the lord of twenty, then the lord of one hundred, and, lastly, immediately under the king, the lord of a thousand. All these formed a regular succession: the King, *vi et armis*, if necessary, forced out of the thousand-village viceroys, the greatest sum that he possibly could; and, from the very nature of the case, he must have been in a condition for enforcing that, or enforcing nothing. There can be no love in such a society, because there is no reciprocity; therefore the viceroy of a thousand towns would be a king himself in every instance where the sword did not hinder him. When it did, his only way of getting a revenue would be to squeeze out of each of his ten lords of a hundred villages, as much more as ever he could than the king had squeezed out of him; and therefore unless he had force enough for coercing all the ten at the same time, they would have been kings themselves, and he would not have existed.

Each of the ten would have to squeeze an additional sum out of his five chiefs of a score of villages, and could not get it without the power of coercing them. The lord of twenty must have been able to do the same for each of his two lords of ten; the lord of ten for each of his two lords of one; and if he had not been able to do that, the lord of a single village would have been "every inch a king." Therefore, in order to keep the system at work, there must have been, for the certain collecting of the revenue alone, not only six standing armies, each able to coerce the people; but six, of which the first and weakest was able to do that, and each of the others increasing in power as the ultimate musnud was approached. Such a system could not have been carried to any very great extent, and that is probably the reason why the native kingdoms of India, were so small and so easily overturned. When there was a king, if one who could bring a more powerful army made his appearance, the army of majesty was scattered—*exit rex*, and the stranger was in his place. It was just the same with the whole succession, down to the lord of one village,—the only one that could immediately find a second army, of any number, however small, after his first had been routed, and his treasury emptied.

This was a very convenient state of society for enabling the Brahmin to play at kings and lords for his own advantage. It was not the interest of the petty chief of a single village to set up for an independent sovereign: and therefore he, and the people who were immediately under him, passed quietly from the sway of one sovereign to that of another.

But the king, whatever might be the number of his gradations over the lord of one village, had the general administration of justice, or at least of law, under his care, as well as the military management. There was a sort of court in the village, as well as a police; and in disputes about the boundaries of land and other local matters, there was an inquest of the inhabitants, something resembling a jury; but there was always an appeal to the Durbar, or court of complaint, though the mode of that appeal was liable to many objections, and it depended more upon the personal character of the judge than upon any thing else, if the aggrieved party met with any redress. That form was kept up by the Mahomedan Emperors, and even Aurungzebe himself, in the zenith of his pride, devoted a portion of every day to hearing the complaints of the people, as well as to reading the decisions of the judges.

As the Hindû village is really the only per-

manent part of the native government, the rest being maintained only by force of arms, and thus liable to change ; and as the villages have in many instances belonged, from time immemorial, to the ancestors of the people by whom they are at present inhabited ; an outline of the system on which they are formed, is absolutely necessary. There is no definite extent allotted for a village, either in quantity of land or number of inhabitants. These depend upon circumstances which were probably at first purely accidental ; but they have a sort of municipal government, which is very uniform in them all, and makes the villagers a little permanent nation, while empires around them are in a state of change. The original principle that regulated the size of the villages may have been the accumulation into one place of as many persons as could assist one another by the division of labour, so that none might be idle or have too much to do, and that all might have their simple wants supplied without going to a distance.

The number of official men in these villages is very considerable, and the offices, we believe, generally hereditary. The first, or lord of one village, is a *potail*. He is the greatest official man that the villagers know, or, at least, give themselves any trouble about ; and if they have

any attachment to a ruler, of course it is to him. The offices are numerous, and some of them rather contradictory, according to our notions ; but the permanence of the villages shews that he suits the genius of the people. He superintends the affairs of the village, administers the police, settles disputes, with the assistance, when necessary, of the punchayet, or inquest, already alluded to, and he also is the collector of the revenue. He is, therefore, a sort of sovereign of the village ; and as he is a sovereign in daily contact with the people, he is better acquainted with them and their circumstances than any other officer could be. Those who have had the best opportunities of observing, also say that the potail has a good deal of influence in his village, and generally deserves it. The second officer is the *curnum*, who is properly the clerk or registrar of the village. He observes the progress and success of the general industry and affairs of the village, and keeps a register of it, that may be produced in case of dispute. The *tallier* is the third officer ; he is the chief police and guardsman : is charged with the detection of offences, and the safe conduct of all persons to and from the village. The *totie* is the last of what may be accounted the governing officers. He is a sort of beadle within the village, and his proper duty is to

watch the produce, to assist in ascertaining the quantity, and take care that there is no embezzlement, but that each has a due share. This is necessary, because those officers who are employed for the good of the village generally have their reward out of the general produce.

The other public characters in the village are—the *surveyor*, or *boundary-man*, who sees that the marches are preserved, and gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute; the *water-inspector*, who looks after the condition of the tanks, wells, water-courses, and other means by which the lands are irrigated, and sees that each ryot, or cultivator, has his due proportion; the *brahmin*, who officiates as the village priest; the *school-master*, who teaches the children to write and read in sand, and from whom the practice was introduced into the mechanical schools of this country; the *astrologer*, who is always a brahmin, and who lets the people know when the stars and seasons are in proper humour for favouring the labours and enterprises of the village; the *blacksmith* and carpenter, who make the implements and erect the buildings necessary for carrying on the labour and lodging the people; the *potter*, the *cow-keeper*, and the *washerman*. These are the chief tradesmen that are essential in every village; but comfort and health require



a *barber* and *doctor*; and the gaiety of the people require a *poet*, a *musician*, and a *dancing girl*.

Thus each village has an establishment within itself, which answers all the purposes that are requisite among a people who have no ambition, and know little change; and were it not for the superstition to which they are exposed in the article of religion, and the exertions of the government, one would imagine that there should be many of the elements of rural happiness, as well as rural simplicity, in such a village—where all the people, those who cultivate the ground, and those who in any other way may serve the community, have a common interest in all that is produced. In this simple mode of life there may be some advantages derived from each man following one occupation; they may acquire a little more dexterity than if they had to shift from one employment to another; but the system precludes any thing like progressive improvement or mental energy and resources; and thus the benefit, if any, has in general been to the government, or to the deputy that collected the revenue.

The construction of a village, of which the outline has been given, prevails in the greatest purity in those districts where invasion has come the least; and simple as these little asso-

ciations may appear, they have been the chief sources of all that wealth of India, the accounts of which have been so much exaggerated, and for the possession of which the desires of men have been so much inflamed in other parts of the world.

According to the laws of Menu, and, so far as we are now able to judge, according, also, to the ancient practice of the Hindûs, the whole property of the land was vested in the sovereign, who, by the same laws, was allowed a portion of the produce, greater or less, according to circumstances ; and also a tax upon all manufactured articles and merchandise ; the rent and the tax always being a smaller portion of the whole value, the more labour that the production required. Thus the tax upon garden produce was less in proportion than that upon field produce ; and the tax upon the produce of land that required artificial watering, less than upon that of lands which were naturally flooded by the rivers. There were also, in every village, lands that were free, or nearly free ; such as those that were allotted for the pagoda or religious establishment, and for the maintenance of the village officers, as above enumerated.

But lands are nothing, especially in a country like India, where, when neglected, they are soon changed into jungle or desert, unless they are

cultivated ; and, therefore, to suppose a proprietary right in the king, the same as that which an English landowner has in his estate, would be to suppose that which could not possibly be. The right of the king in the lands could be no more a right of private property than his right in the merchandize. The king's right is a right of revenue, for his own support and that of the state ; and that right would be a nonentity, if somebody who had not a proprietary right in the production of the goods in the one case, and in the land, so as to crop it in the other. When the East India Company first began to deal in Indian revenue, they knew but little about the laws and customs of India, and they went to work with English notions ; so that, while they produced a vast deal of confusion and misery among the natives, they darkened the subject of the tenures of land. Had they been at the trouble to ascertain who had been longest resident, they would have found that the ryots, or cultivators, in all cases where they had not been killed out in the disturbances, or had died out in the course of nature, had been longest there—had been in possession before there ever was a nabob or a zemindar in Bengal, and that they had never been turned out as long as they paid the *jumma*, or assessment to the state. This proprietorship

arose out of the very law that gave the king a discretionary power of fixing the amount of revenue. If they paid what he demanded, and obeyed the law, their removal would have been not unjust merely, but absolute madness—it would have been the sovereign destroying his own power and wealth, without any object, even in the gratification of the lowest passion; and though one mad king may have done that, it could never have been general.

The king and the ryot were, therefore, the joint proprietors of the land in India; but each for a different purpose, just as the king and the landowner are joint proprietors of the land in England; the most remarkable difference being, that the ryot is, by the law of his caste, the cultivator as well as the private proprietor; and thus far India had the advantage of England.

The king was the public proprietor for revenue; and the ryot was the private one for finding that revenue, as well as his own subsistence; and the produce to the one was limited by what the other could spare, and that to the other by the productiveness of the soil and his own success and skill in the cultivation of it. It is just the same in every state where there is a compact for revenue, or a revenue at all—in England, for example; and the only difference is in the law—the law of India allowing the

assessment to be made by the king, with advice of the lord spiritual, or brahmin, only—that of England requiring the lords spiritual and temporal, with the commons in parliament assembled.

It has been supposed that when the emperor, or nabob, or rajah, or whatever else he might be called, granted a zemindaree, or jaghire, or whatever else it might be called, he granted a private property; but such could not be the fact,—he having no such property to grant. By the law there are no crown lands in India; and there is no need for them, because a revenue for the king is provided out of the whole lands, as well as out of the manufactures and merchandize. When, therefore, an eastern ruler granted a zemindaree, or a jaghire, he did the very same thing in principle that a western ruler does when he grants a pension; only he gave it with the trouble of collecting, instead of giving it out of the revenue after it is collected. The King of England might, instead of giving so many thousand pounds a year, give the man whom he delighted to enrich the taxes of the Northumberland estates, or of the brewery of Barclay, Perkins, and Company; but he could neither give the estates nor the brewery as a private property; and it is the very same in principle with the rulers in the east. If the

East India Company have ever done any thing of that kind, they have either acted in gross ignorance, or been wilfully guilty of a very flagrant violation of justice; and by neither mode have they demonstrated their fitness for being rulers, to say not a word about legislation.

That there was much greater hardship to the proprietor of the soil in the eastern zemindaree than in the western pension is very true, because the zemindar had the power of making the exaction what he pleased; but as, under the Mahomedan rule at least, the revenue exacted by the sovereign himself was always about the very maximum of what the cultivator of the land could afford, the zemindar could not make the burden much heavier. Some apology may be necessary for these remarks being a little more argumentative than is consistent with the general intention of the book; but the mistake appeared to be one that needed correction. If the Company claim a private property in the soil of India, they are not successors of the rulers whom they have displaced; they come upon new grounds—grounds which are neither consistent with Hindû law, nor with the usual practice of civilized conquest.

There is a sort of plea in favour of the Company, in their recognition of the pro-



prietary rights of the zemindars in Bengal, which reduces that proceeding merely to the perpetuating of a wrong done by others, and not doing it directly themselves. The zemindars are a production of the decline, or, rather, the corruption, of the Mogul Empire. They are barely mentioned in the time of Achar. The offices were given to favourites, who, as the empire became weak, followed the example of the nabobs in setting up for themselves, and joining the private rights of the ryots to those rights of collecting the revenue which had been conferred on them by the emperors. Partly to save trouble, and partly because it was more in accordance with the practice in Europe, and partly because they thought that the rent would be more abundant if obtained through them, the Company regarded the zemindars as proprietors of the soil. That was one of the chief causes of the misery and crime so abundant in Bengal in the early days of the Company's territorial power, and which have not been wholly got the better of yet. Declaring that the zemindars were the proprietors of the soil of India, or even giving them a proprietary right in it, any further than the stipulated duannee, or tax, for the amount of which there had always been some sort of check under the native system, was not very

different, either in principle or in practice, from giving the revenue officers similar powers in England; and the effects were just what the parties, with even a very slight knowledge of human nature, might easily have foreseen. The government of the village was, in fact, the only thing like a social compact among the people of India. In it there were unity of interests and reciprocity of good offices. There were the associations of a long period of neighbourhood, and whatever of feeling and affection had existed, had been confined to the village. There, there was mutual service, one accommodating another, and being accommodated in return; but every thing higher than or external of the village, presented itself only as a drain upon their industry; it pressed them to the full amount that they could bear; and, therefore, the Hindûs had always been ready to turn from ruler to ruler, just as the man who is in pain turns upon his bed in the hope that in the new position he will be able to shake off the grief of the old; but the hope is delusive, and he is just as anxious for a fresh position.

The very way in which the produce of the village fields was parted among the people shows that to them the village was the kingdom. It is probable that the exactions on the people were much more severe in Bengal

than in almost any other part of India; and there the people were treated with regard to the rent, in the same manner as the Irish used to be sometimes treated with regard to tithes—they were not allowed to gather in their crops till the rent was paid. That single circumstance might have thrown a great deal of light upon the whole structure of Bengalese society—might have shewn that the zemindars, or whoever collected the rents immediately from the cultivators, were not the proprietors of the land. Proprietors of land have a natural regard for the land; and this, even under the very maximum of folly and avarice, leads them to let the crop be disposed of before they demand the rent. The fact that that was not, and is not to this day, allowed in many parts of Bengal, is a proof that those who levied the rent there stood precisely in the same relation to the land as the Irish tithe-renters. Both had got let to them a public impost, which had no connexion with proprietorship in the land; and both appear to have wished to secure it without any regard to the injury that might thereby be done to the people or to the land itself. Some of those zemindarees in Bengal are very large, and thus the rent, or revenue, of the Company is more easily collected.

In those parts of the country where the

ancient Hindû customs have been less changed, the following is the distribution of the crop, as stated in substance by Dr. Buchanan. The grain is thrashed out in the field, after which the Brahmin consecrates ground for the forming of a heap, by plastering it over with cow-dung. The heap is then collected, and generally contains about one hundred and ten Winchester bushels,—the seer, which is mentioned in the division, is about one-third of a gallon, and the distribution is made thus:—First for the Brahmins of the pagoda, or the officiating priests, five seers, and for the mendicant Brahmins an equal quantity : secondly, for the village Brahmin, and astrologer, one seer each. Thus, for the immediate purposes of religion, there are four gallons, or half a bushel, set apart out of one hundred and ten bushels, which is only one-twenty-second part of the tithe paid for the church in England. Thirdly, the barber, the pot-maker, the carpenter and blacksmith, and the washerman, get two seers each, which makes eight seers for the tradesmen of the village. Fourthly, the potail gets eight seers ; the police officers seven, and the curnum ten—which make twenty-four for the village magistracy. These deductions are the same for every heap, whatever may be its magnitude, if it exceed five-and-twenty bushels ; but as one hundred

and ten may be accounted the average, the whole of the regular exactions do not amount to two per cent.—being  $1\frac{7}{8}$  bushels out of one hundred and ten.

The heap is then measured by the candaca of about  $5\frac{1}{6}$  bushels, and the imposts according to the quantity deducted. These are two and a half seers per candaca each to the potail and curnum, and half a seer to the watchman, with the consecrated bottom, to the inspector of the water-courses. This makes up the whole of the village allowance for religion, for tradesmen, and for government: for all, in short, that is absolutely essential for the village, as a village, and the total does not much exceed five per cent., that is, out of the one hundred and ten bushels, there still remains about one hundred and five bushels to the ryot.

After this, however, there come more severe exactions, which show that they have been imposed by an authority external of the village. The collector of the revenue gets ten per cent., which reduces the heap to about ninety-four bushels: and the revenue itself is half the remainder, which leaves the ryot about forty-seven out of one hundred and ten, or rather more than forty-two per cent. out of the gross produce, which is certainly more

than comes to the English farmer, after all his public and local imposts and rents are deducted. In point of fact, however, the amount levied in all places where Mahomedan governments have been established, are much greater than what has been stated, and probably less than one sixth remains to the cultivator. That which is left is generally a bare maintenance; and when it is borne in mind, that, in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, the total expense of living to the whole population, English, nabobs, and all, included, is, for food, clothing, and every thing, only about *two pounds* sterling each per annum, the pittance on which the poorer classes are supported must be small indeed. *One pound four shillings* may be taken as the average of the whole annual maintenance of each individual in an artificer's or labourer's family, consisting of four persons; and therefore the average wages of the labourer himself cannot be much more than one penny a day, if it be as much.

Of the very highest class of the Hindoos, the average annual consumption is rated at seventy-five rupees, or about seven pounds ten shillings per annum; reckoning nine women and children: while the consumption even by British common soldiers in India, is estimated



at about nine pounds sixteen shillings. Bengal and Bahar, are the richest parts of the country: and they contain a population of about fifteen millions of natives—consuming in food and clothes, about thirty millions in the year.

This is not the place to discuss how much they can afford to expend in clothing or utensils of any sort; but those who are so loud and ardent in setting forth the vast advantages which would result to this country from an extended free trade with India, would do well to consider, how much of the manufactured produce of a country, where an artificer gets four shillings a day, and a house servant-girl ten pounds a year, besides maintenance, can be bought by a nation who have not for food and all, more than two pounds a year each. It would be but a sorry prospect for the manufacturers of England, if (even whisky apart, which is the law in Hindûstan,) they were to open a trade with a nation composed of fifteen millions of Irish labourers: and yet, as they are paid in England, those persons are nabobs in wealth, at least in outgoings, as compared with even the upper class of the Hindûs.

And yet this is the proper view to take of a trade in commodities with India. The customs of the people are such, that they do not desire the commodities of England, or, rather,

they are ignorant of those commodities; and it is well for them that they have not the desire, for, assuredly, they have no means whatever of gratifying it. As for a mart for English merchandize among the natives of India, in their present state, in any state in which we are informed of any thing about them, or in any state into which there is at present any rational hope of seeing them brought,—why, it might as well be sought at Monte Video again, in the north-west passage, or in the moon. The revenue in England is, including the expense of collection, and futile prosecutions for deficiencies, after the rate of about three pounds per annum upon every man, woman, and child in the country; which is, in itself, fifty per cent. more than the total maintenance of the native population of India; and to say that consumers could purchase goods that were produced under the pressure of more taxation than the whole living of the consumers, and after having been carried for nearly twenty thousand miles, would be saying a very foolish thing. The purchase they could not possibly make, and to tantalize them would be cruel. In the present state of things, therefore, the idea of an extensive export trade to India, even at a considerable loss, is a palpable absurdity, and never can

enter into the head of any person, that understands any thing about India. A rich man may want a bit of broadcloth, or, it may be, when he associates with, or rather lives near Europeans, he may want a crystal lamp, and, once in ten years or so, there may be a covering wanted for the car of Juggernaut; but were it not that they have to carry out military stores and equipments, and necessaries for Europeans, the outward-bound ships of the Company would be more frequently empty than full. Out of this there naturally arises more argument, but all tending to the same purpose: the Company have, from their political influence, certainly had more facilities for carrying on an extensive trade, than those who did not possess such an influence could have; and yet the whole amount of British produce and manufactures exported by them, in the year ending 22d April 1829, was, according to the official return, only one million ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and ten pounds, of which four hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine pounds consisted of military stores, which leaves only six hundred and thirty-six thousand four hundred and forty-one pounds in saleable commodities. There are about seven thousand British in the country, who are not in the army; and of those

in the army, we may safely set down two thousand as purchasers of British articles to the amount of eighty pounds each a year : so that, upon a very moderate computation, the demand for British articles, by the British alone in India, would amount to five hundred and sixty thousand pounds, leaving only seventy-six thousand four hundred and forty-one pounds for the whole quantity sold to the natives. The profit upon that, allowing ten per cent., and it does not perhaps amount to five, or as a trade with the natives to one, and the whole of the Company's profits upon their exports, cannot by possibility amount to more than seven thousand six hundred and forty-four pounds a year. But the estimate of consumption by the British is taken too low, taking nine thousand as the number that purchase British commodities—and it must be borne in mind, that, as a great part of the army consists of officers, the British demand must take up the greater part of all the European and American imports ; and the value of India, as an outlet for the manufactures of England, dwindles into absolutely nothing, and is really not worth petitioning or even speaking about. Of the manufactures of Europe, there never can be much more consumed in India, than there are Europeans there to purchase them ; because

the people of the country really have no funds to give in return for them; and the Europeans have no funds but what they must either get from Europe, or levy upon the country, in the only way that disposable funds have ever been obtained in India—having the power of making the natives give up without a price, and, as revenue or rent, a certain portion of the produce of their land and labour.

It may be supposed and said, that if the English were not in the country, to levy the twenty-three millions of revenue, which they at present levy, the whole, or the greater part, or at least some part of it, would be disposable, and applied to the purchase of European goods. But on that subject, great doubts may very rationally be entertained—first, as to whether any part of it would be disposable; and, secondly, as to whether, if disposable, it would be applied to that purpose.

First, the three and twenty millions is that which would support the whole government, fiscal and judicial establishments and wars of about one hundred and twenty-five millions of people, or about three shillings and eight pence farthing for each individual. . The cost of the Russian government, the cheapest in Europe, is four shillings and nine pence farthing for each individual of the population; and though

the average support of the people of India, be probably less even than it is in Russia, it is difficult to see how the governing of them could be cheaper. There is some love of country in all the Russians, and a very great deal in many of them; so much indeed that there are few countries that stand less in danger of revolt. With the exception of some of the hordes in Asia, which but little influence the general state of the Russian empire, the Russians are an orderly people, and though rude and illiterate, are not prone to form predatory bands for the purposes of plunder and robbery. The Hindûs, on the other hand, have always evinced tendencies of that kind; and we have seen already that there are, in the very structure of Hindû society, causes which render that a natural and almost necessary state of things. It may further be said, that the sum alluded to is not the whole revenue of India; for the dependent chiefs have still the form, and a good deal of the expense of courts about them, and the chiefs that have been superseded by the Company, have the revenues of large tracts of land reserved to them. And even if the power of the Company were withdrawn, so that the sovereignty of India might be divided, each of the native princes would still have to maintain the



dignity of his court, in addition to the expense of the government ; and in addition too, to the armament that he would constantly have to keep up, in order to repel hostile invasion, as well as put down insurrection. Although, therefore, it may be possible that India might according to the notions of the natives (though as appears from the whole tenor of their character, they care very little about governments), be better governed by native princes than by the British,—yet without some such predominating power as that of the British, there is every reason to suppose that future Hyders and Tippoo, would rise up as adventurers ; and we have the experience of past times, both remote and recent, to bear us out in saying, that these would not only consume the revenue, but also, to a certain extent, the people.

Secondly, admitting, which is rather contrary to the probability of the case, that, in the event of the withdrawal of the British from India, and the reverting of the government to native powers, Hindû or not Hindû, according to circumstances, there should be a surplus of the twenty-three millions which the British spend (and, wars included, rather more than spend) in the government of the country ; would that be more readily applied to the purchase of European manufactures than to any other purpose ? The evident impossibility of there

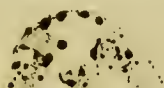
being such a sum to apply, renders it quite unnecessary to argue this point at any great length. The Hindûs have, from time immemorial, been visited by the people of other countries; and they have never adopted any of their customs, or used many of their manufactured articles. When the trade was confined to the eastern nations,—the Assyrians, the Arabians, the Phœnicians and the Abyssinians, the probability is that there was a greater exchange of commodities than at some later periods, because the habits of the visited and the visitors were more alike. But with regard to European articles, there has been no increase of consumption since the commencement of the trade, and no additional export farther than can be satisfactorily accounted for by the additional number of Europeans in the country. Now if they have not got a taste for European articles during the time when Europeans have been more than usually numerous in the country, and have held the chief places of power, trust, and honour, it is not at all probable that they would more readily acquire such a taste were the Europeans to withdraw, and Hindûs or Mahomedans again to hold the important offices. Thus it may be assumed as an established truth, that there can be no extensive market for the manufactures of this country in India, until the people acquire

both an ability and a wish to purchase them, for neither of which there is at present any ground of hope; and therefore, in any argument that may be raised about trade with India, as being useful to this country, whether that trade may be open or close, by individuals as they please, or by a Company as it is able, the profit of the export trade to the country, may be put aside, as not forming any part of the matter to be discussed.

But India might be colonized by Europeans? That is a question in the fact, and more than a question in the necessity that there is for it. The Portuguese planted a colony at Goa; but their character, instead of having tended to raise that of the Hindûs, has sunk down below the level of the native standard; the few that remain of them are in the extreme of wretchedness, and their abode is more like a desert than a city. Now these same Portuguese settled in Goa under circumstances more favourable than any European colonists could now settle in India. It was then, and with them, consistent both with the fashion and the faith, that those who were not Christians might be plundered, not as a matter of sufferance merely, but as a matter of merit. From this doctrine they failed not to raise use; and the wealth of Goa was the wages of rapine. The settlers never

could have, by their own merits or exertions, won what they even had; and therefore the moment that they were thrown upon those exertions, they began to wax poor, and are fading away like a plant which has been unskilfully set in a soil not adapted for it.


But there is no need for quoting the example; the reason of the case is quite enough. If colonists were sent to India, they must be some such colonists as those whom the Company has already there. They must live upon remittances, or they must live upon rent. To these there is no other alternative, unless you suppose that they are to live upon plunder. There is no part of Europe from which you could obtain working people, that would be contented with sixpence or a shilling in the week, or who could exist at the same cost as even the average of the higher ranks of the Hindûs. Even if you could find them, you would either have to send employers along with them, or leave them unemployed; for assuredly they would meet with no employment from the natives. They would have no caste, and people of caste would not employ them, so that the jungles would be their habitations, and the outlaws their associates. Nay, even though there were nothing of that kind, and the employment of the wealthiest Hindûs were open to them, they



could not compete with the natives with any chance of success. The dexterity of the Hindû is in his hands; and were the European deprived of the tools and machines which science has furnished him with, he would be no match for the other.

But there would be no use in sending people to India as emigrants. There are plenty of people there already,—of people far better adapted to the climate than any that could be sent, and people who not only can live, but actually do live upon the small allowance that has been mentioned. Easily too as they are supported in point of expense, the country is not overflowing with wealth. Every way therefore that the subject can be viewed, there is no way in which it appears at all possible to create a demand for European goods, much greater than that which exists at present, and we have seen that where the demand occasioned by Europeans is taken out of the way, the native demand that remains is hardly worth mentioning. One very small ship annually, would probably carry the greater part of it.

But there has been commerce with India, from the earliest periods, and it has been sought for by the most difficult routes? So it has, but not for the purpose of carrying the goods of the west to India—the object has been



to resort thither for the purpose of purchasing goods, and they have generally been purchased with money. The trade has generally also been in the hands of one or two of the western nations; and, for a long time, one of the articles most eagerly sought after, was the piece goods, or manufactured cottons of India. From the superiority of the cotton wool of American growth, and the introduction of machinery in the manufacture, together with the finer patterns and more beautiful and durable colours, that can now be produced in Europe, that part of the trade is of very little value. Saltpetre, drugs, and dye stuffs, are now the chief articles of Indian produce that find a general market in Europe, and of these some are exceeded, and many are rivalled, by the productions of tropical America. The indigo of Guatemala is almost equal to that of the east, and there is no dye there equal to the cochineal of the Caraccas.

It is possible that, in consequence of the comparatively cheap subsistence of human beings, the produce of India may, in many articles, be had cheaper in that country, than the produce of some other places; but then that is compensated, in so far, by the length of the voyage, which, if (as would be very much the case were there no Europeans in the coun-



try) the outward trips should go for nothing in the way of profit, would really be more than the trade would bear. The chief demand in India, when the trade was confined to the natives, was for the precious metals, and these, with gems—which it would be rather ridiculous to carry to India except perhaps from Brazil, and that is at best doubtful—were the chief treasure that the wealthy Indians accumulated. Nor is there any reason to suppose that if the trade were to revert back to the Hindûs again, it would be different, for their habits have changed very little.

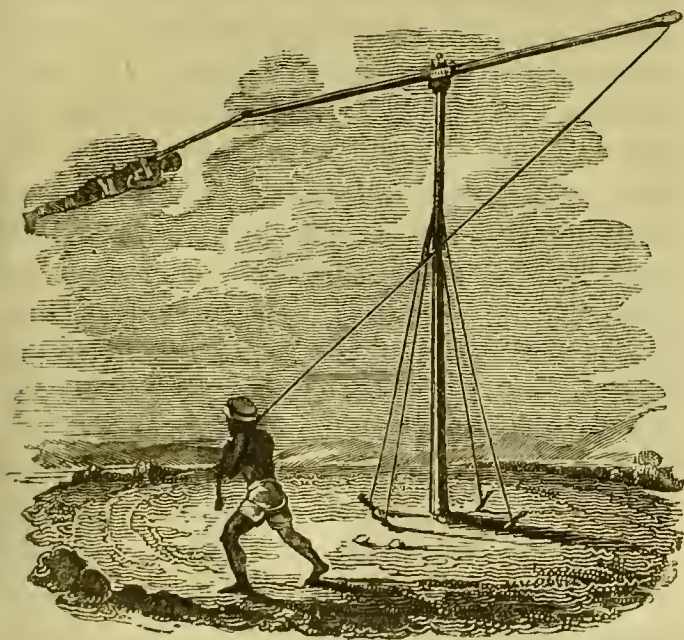
If we had only the evidence of the Company's trade, that would not be conclusive, for, with all their advantages, the Company are not the very best sort of machine for carrying on an active and profitable trade. It is much too cumbrous and costly in its motions; and though, from the monopoly that it has in the Chinese branch, it may make a little profit by that, it is not in the nature of things that it can make a profit upon the whole. The Americans are as fond of driving a lucrative trade as any people, and they are abundantly enterprising; but their trade with the whole of the eastern seas is not increasing. In the ten years preceding 1828, the American trade to those seas has, with some fluctuations, been falling off every year; and

in the last of these years it was less than one half of what it was in the first; and yet, in the article of furs, the Americans have some advantages in the port of Canton.

These remarks may seem out of place; but they arise so naturally out of the consideration of the structure of Hindû society, that it is hoped a saving of space will be effected by placing them here, rather than in a separate chapter, where they would have been disjoined from that, out of which they rise, as matter of necessary and unavoidable inference.

## CHAPTER VIII.

NATIVE POPULATION—APPEARANCE—ACCOM-  
MODATIONS—MANNERS—AMUSEMENTS, &c.



SWINGING.

THOUGH there are differences in the personal appearance of the Hindûs, in some cases arising from the districts of which they are natives,

and in others from the nature of their occupation, yet there is, generally speaking, a family likeness among them, which sufficiently marks them as one people. The mountaineers of the north are strong and muscular; the inhabitants of the south of more slender frame; but they are generally what one would term "clean made," and capable of enduring much more, both of privation and fatigue, than one would, at first sight, be disposed to believe. They are unlike any of the races that have been found, as it is usual to say, native in tropical countries. Their features are much finer than those of any of the negro races, and they have neither the fiery eye nor the sinister look of the Malays; at the same time, they are without the impassioned aspect of the Arabs and Persians. The general expression is soft and retiring; but there is a dash of cunning about it; and when a Hindû humbles himself to the dust before you, you are not wholly free from the apprehension of treachery. Perhaps that has been produced by the long habit that has been forced upon them by their oppressive rulers, of concealing their circumstances lest they should be plundered. On the part of the low castes, it no doubt arises in so far from the inferior situation in which they find themselves, without any blame on their part, or merit on

that of those on account of whom they are humble; and in the Brahmins there is often a most hypocritical expression occasioned by the overacting of pretended sanctity.

The face of the Hindû is oval, with a reasonable but not very large forehead; the eyes have a tinge of yellow in the white, and the black of the iris is soft and dull; their eye-brows are in general well formed, the mouth and nose of rather a European cast, though the former has a little the character of that of the Jews. The hair is black and long, but rather soft, and has no natural tendency to curl. The females of the inferior castes, from the harsh treatment they meet with, and the severe labour they must undergo, are of diminutive stature, never handsome, and very early in life have a haggard appearance; but even then they are capable of enduring a great deal of fatigue, and in some of the mountain districts the whole labour of the field devolves upon them, the men being trained to arms. The women of the high castes are very different; their forms are delicate and graceful, their limbs finely tapered and rounded, their features mild, their eyes dark and languishing, their hair fine and long, their complexions glowing, as if they were radiant, and their skins remarkably polished and soft. The only feature about them that does not

quite harmonize with European notions of female symmetry, is the size and projection of their ears ; but, with this exception, nothing can be more lithe and sylph-like than a genuine Hindu beauty.

The dress of the Hindus is remarkably simple, and except in the fineness of the cotton cloth of which it is made, there is very little difference in that of the rich and the poor, the distinction of the former consisting more in their jewels and attendants. 'The two grand divisions of the Hindû or Brahminical faith, are distinguished by the position of a white line on the face, which is made with chunam or lime—rather chalk and clay mixed—found in some holy places in Gujerat. The followers of Siva wear the line perpendicular, and those of Vishnu horizontal. The adoration of Siva has at one time been more prevalent on the west coast, and that of Vishnu on the east ; but they are now in so far blended. Still the Brahmins of Siva, on some parts of the west, consider themselves of a caste so transcendently high and holy, that they will not eat with those of any other place.

The distinguishing badge of the castes is a string tied round the shoulders ; the number, form, colour, and order of the threads in which, indicate the particular rank that the wearer



holds in his caste. No member of an inferior caste is however allowed to wear so many threads in the string as the very lowest order of the caste above him; and the Sudra is not permitted to wear any string.

The men in India have two fashions of dress, —one which they are described as having worn in the days of the Romans, and no one knows how long before then; the other has been in part adopted from the Mahomedans, though with such difference that the one can never be mistaken for the other. The ancient dress consisted of three pieces of cotton cloth, one fastened round the waist, and falling down as far as the knee; the second wrapped round the body, and the third twisted round the head. The Mahomedan imitation consists of cotton drawers down to the ankles, a long robe of cotton, crossed on the breast, and tied round the body with a scarf; but to distinguish them from the Mahomedans, who fasten the robe on the right side, the Hindus fasten it on the left. A turban forms part of this dress, but it is easily distinguished from the Moorish turban. This is the regular dress of the Hindus; but many of the poorer classes have only a piece of cloth wrapped round the loins; while in the cold districts they have a thicker piece of cloth, oftentimes of woollen, and sometimes of British

manufacture, resembling the pamho of the South Americans, which answers all the purposes of a robe, a mantle, and a bed. This covering of all work is most frequent in the Balaghaut country, and among the mountaineers in the north. The head is usually shaved, except a small lock on the hinder part, and a pair of small mustachios.

The dress of the females is very elegant, and upon a fine form it is far more classical than the fashionable bundles of knots, tatters, and ends of ribbon, with two-bushel sleeves, and head dresses as broad as the umbrella over a palanquin, which, in the present year, 1830, give the belles of England an outline, which, if it should please nature to fill up with flesh and blood, would certainly render them of all created beings the most shapeless, or, at any rate, the most unmeaning in shape, either for use or for ornament. The close part of the Hindû female dress is a jacket with half sleeves, which fits tight to the shape, and covers but does not conceal the bust, and this, in females of rank, is made of rich silk. The remainder of the dress is the shalice, a large piece of silk or cotton, which is wrapped round the middle, and contrived to fall in graceful folds, till it be below the ancle on one leg, while it shows a part of the other. It is gathered into a bunch

in front, and the upper end crosses the breast, and is thrown forward again over the shoulder, or over the head like a veil. The belles prolong their dark eye-lashes by lines of black drawn from the corners of the eyes, and the palms of their hands, their nails, the soles of their feet, and sometimes also the roots of their hair, are tinted red. The women of the lower castes seldom wear anything but the shalice of pure white cotton, but even then, upon a graceful figure, the method of arranging it looks very handsome. The hands and feet are always adorned with rings and other ornaments, and sometimes a jewel is worn from the nose. Even the working-girls have their anklets and armlets of glass, tin, brass, or tutenag, and sometimes of silver. The higher classes wear a kind of slippers, or sandals, which are long, turned up, and sometimes ornamented at the points; but the poorer classes go barefooted. The ornaments that are worn upon the person are the only costly articles in the establishment of a Hindû, but they are of a nature not soon to wear out, and they never become unfashionable. Whether it be that the cotton-wool suffers from the long sea carriage, or that the manipulation by the delicate fingers of the women, or the art of spinning, works the thread into a finer consistency, the cotton cloth of

India is certainly much more durable than that which is made in Europe, so that clothing costs very little. It seems, indeed, that the cotton goods of England are not at all adapted for the natives of India. Their habits are permanent, and both that and their capacity for buying require that their clothing should be permanent too. The cottons of England are better suited to a people among whom fashion is continually shifting. A considerable quantity of cotton twist and yarn has, however, of late years, been sent from Britain to India, because the spinning by machinery is cheaper than even by the fingers of Hindûs; but it is doubtful whether much of the cloth that is wove from that yarn, be worn by the natives of India, as, being a mercantile speculation, the greater part of it is probably dispersed in the country trade among the isles.

In the country, and also in those parts of the towns that are inhabited by the working classes, the habitations and furniture of the Hindûs are even more simple than their clothing. In the desert of Ajmeer, where vegetable substances are not to be found, the houses are constructed of rude stones, roof and all, and bear some resemblance to those shelters which the shepherds erect in the mountainous parts of this country. In those places where the dry

season is of long continuation, the houses are often of a very light structure. A frame-work is constructed of split bambû, and that being covered with mats of the leaves of the cocoa or any other long-leaved palm, is dwelling enough for the dry season. More substantial houses have the walls formed of mud, which the heat hardens almost to the consistency of brick; these have roofs of thatch or tiles, or when they are flat, which is often the case in the south of India, they are covered with the same sort of substance as the walls, and the whole sometimes whitened with chunum. The habitations of the ryots are mostly of the rude forms that have been noticed, and they are seldom more than one story high. The habitations of the more opulent often consist of two stories, have the walls smoothed, or formed of brick or stone, and cemented and plastered with a mortar made of lime and jaggery or palm-sugar unboiled. Those houses, in the towns, often have covered galleries in front, raised a little from the street, which sometimes form the habitation of the palanquin-bearers and other lower orders of domestics. The architecture of the towns, and habitations of the very wealthy, will be noticed in another place.

Furniture there is little in the habitation of a Hindû, and the little that there is, is of the

most plain and frugal description. As the people sit on the ground, and place their victuals there also, chairs or tables are not wanted. The very humblest people content themselves with the bare earth; those who are a little higher, strew the floor with straw or dried leaves; higher still, they have carpets, or, near the British settlements, occasionally a piece of broadcloth, over which a covering of white cotton is often spread. The bed consists of a mat extended on a little frame. The household utensils are a few basins and flat dishes, of copper or brass, a brass drinking vessel with a spout, a lamp, a few earthen jars, a mortar for pounding rice, and a pot, generally an earthen pot, for boiling it. The Hindû sits down to his frugal meal upon the bare ground, and if he has any vessel in addition to the simple leaf that contains his rice, it is merely an earthen plate.

The living of the Hindûs is as simple as their habitations and domestic utensils. With the exception of fish, which is eaten by some of the Brahmins, the high and pure castes eat no animal food; but they find a sort of substitute for that in the vegetable oils, and in ghee, or clarified butter, which last, though it be a production of the sacred cow, is allowed to be eaten; and as the cows in the dry dis-



districts yield very little, it forms a considerable article of inland trade from those districts where the pasture is more nutritive. In the south of India, the low castes very generally eat fowls, and the out-castes eat carrion and even beef.

The kind of grain that forms the staple article of Hindû food varies with the climate, just as is the case in Europe. In the mountainous part of the south, the principal grain is *raggy*—the thick-spiked dog's-tail-grass (*cynosurus corocanus*); in the Deccan and the southern part of Hindûstan Proper it is rice or barley, or some of the vetches or pulses, according to the nature of the country; and in the north there is some wheat. The rice is however seldom the chief article of food in the inland districts. It does not grow very abundantly there, and it is the principal grain sold for the maintenance of the Hindû population of the towns, as the wheat is for the Europeans. In the populous parts of the country, there are sometimes mills, where the grain is prepared for being made into cakes; and where this is not the case, it is ground between stones by the hand, or beaten in a mortar. Where Indian corn is used, it is generally roasted. The cakes are sometimes made with water alone, and then they soon become as hard as a brick,

and so heavy that they sink in water ; but in the better preparation, milk and salt are added. The quantity of salt, and also of spices, which the Hindûs use in the preparation of their food, is considerable ; and becomes necessary on account of the insipidity of the grain which they are obliged to use, while at the same time it prevents the tendency which the vegetable oils have to become rancid, and to injure the stomaeh. The food of the wealthier Hindûs is, if possible, more simple than that of the lower castes ; and their drink is invariably water, which is cooled in porous jars, in the same manner as in Egypt. Those of low and impure caste are fond of intoxicating liquors—the toddy of the palm, and the bang made from hemp. The Hindûs are very particular about the cleanness of their vessels, whether of metal or of earth, and as the latter are broken after they have been applied to certain uses, the potter of a village has constant employment. It must not be supposed, however, that his occupation is always similar to that of an European potter. The earthen vessels are chiefly for cooking or cooling the victuals,—the plate of the Hindû, being, in many instances, a leaf, or two or three leaves sewed together, the doing of which is part of the occupation of the potter.

Where the people live upon wages, as in the case of the labourers and artificers about towns, the living, though a little more expensive than in the interior, is still very low. This is particularly the case near the British settlements, where employment is more regular, and wages higher. At Madras, the average hire of a labourer is about four shillings a week, and the cost of maintaining himself, his wife, and five young children, about five shillings and sixpence a week. The clothing of the whole amounts to about sixpence a week, so that the support of a labourer's family is six shillings, or two shillings above what he can earn. But the wife can earn half as much as her husband, so that the two between them can support themselves and five children. Even at the most burdensome time of the family, however, that is, when the youngest of the five children is a mere infant, some of the older ones are able to do a little,—to earn among them half as much as their mother, that is, one shilling a week; so that out of the eighteen pounds four shillings which the family earn in the year, there is a saving of one seventh, or of one pound twelve shillings, which is not only much more in proportion, but much more in actual amount than the labourers of England have over and above their daily necessities. It must not be

said that the English labourer has his luxuries, and that the Hindû has none, for the betel and tobacco, the only luxuries which a Hindû of caste can by his religion enjoy, are included in the above estimate. This will farther corroborate what was said in the last chapter, that working people from England could not possibly support themselves for the same sum as the natives. It is to be borne in mind too, that this seven shillings in the week procures the constant service of one man, one woman, and two boys: and he who can have this service from people who do not give him the trouble of eating in his house, and who, so far from embezzling his provisions, will not touch a bit of them, would never employ a single European. This estimate is for the lowest class of domestic servants—as for palanquin bearers; but the rest are moderate in proportion, and as the expense of living, in as far as mere eating is concerned, does not rise with the rank of the party, the savings to persons who are in the higher classes are proportionally greater.

In order that the difference of living may be more clearly understood, we may mention the expenses of an interpreter's family, which is about the middle rank in society, as the man keeps a *hackery*, or country carriage, with two bullocks to draw it, and has a family

in all of twenty. The total household expenses in such a case would average about one hundred and thirty pounds a year, including luxuries and daily charity. The clothing of the whole, with the expense at festivals, and other matters necessary to keep up the dignity of the parties, would come to about thirty-two pounds, and the expense of the carriage would, with keep of the two bullocks, hostlers, stabling, and driver's wages, amount to about forty-eight pounds,—that is, the whole would come to two hundred and ten pounds a year. That is the sum required at the capital of the Madras presidency, to maintain an establishment which certainly could not be equalled in London for ten times the sum. But the expense of keeping Englishmen in India is much greater than this, even in those situations where they do not require to keep establishments,—at least in ranks of which the occupants are not supposed to keep very splendid establishments, or indeed any establishments at all, in England. The pay of an ensign of the native infantry in India is two hundred and seventy-three pounds fifteen shillings, or sixty-three pounds fifteen shillings more than that of a native who keeps a carriage, and that too when the ensign is in garrison, and of course not put to any extra expense. This is a fur-

ther confirmation that it is not in the living generally, but in the Hindû mode of life that the great cheapness consists ; and that, while the manners of the Hindûs remain as they are at present, and have been since anything was known of them, there are no means by which Europeans can come into competition with them in any exercise of industry ; and that, if any foreigners are to reside in the country, there are only two ways in which they can do it—they must either have their subsistence remitted to them, or they must be governors of the country, and raise their subsistence as revenue.

That the Hindûs shall change, shall become more expensive, or in any way different in their manners from what they are at present, is to be looked for only when they change their religion ; because that is mixed up with every part of their domestic proceedings, and the terrible excommunication of the loss of caste, immediately falls upon those who would violate the most minute of its injunctions. The time and manner of eating and drinking are regulated with the same strictness as if these were direct acts of devotion. Many prayers, and acts of a religious nature, have to be gone through, even by those who have violated no part of the sacerdotal code ; and the parts of that code are so numerous, and the language



in which many of them are set forth in the sacred books is so obscure, that a man requires to be constantly consulting the Brahmin, in order to find out whether he be sinning against the gods, or not. Besides those prayers and ceremonies, there are very frequent oblations, which chiefly consist of flowers, incense, fruits, and money. These prayers, ceremonies, and oblations, are constantly and copiously mixed up with the ordinary routine of life; and nothing new, not even the transition from watching the crop to gathering it, can be undertaken without consulting the astrologer.

Every stage and principal act of life also has its ceremony. Great attention is paid to the women during their pregnancy. There are religious as well as worldly motives for this. The worldly motives are, that the children in India very soon become useful to their parents; and the religious, that none but a male descendant can say those prayers for the soul of one who is deceased without which his future happiness is very much impaired. When the seventh month comes, and there is a strong presumption that a living child shall be born, there is a festival. Another festival is held at the birth of the child, which is washed in water, enrolled in its caste by the magistrate, entered in the population roll by the Brahmin,

and has its nativity cast by the astrologer. On the tenth day the child is named. If the parents are very poor, and not able to fee a Brahmin, the name is given by the chief man of the caste. The name is not to be taken from any thing animal, but from the celestial bodies, the earth, or vegetables; and an oblation of wood, rice, and ghee, is burnt upon the occasion. If there be a Brahmin present, he consecrates a portion of water, with which not only the child but all present are sprinkled. It is this which gives to the ceremony its greatest sanctity, and for which the Brahmin receives his fee.

This ceremony of the tenth day is only a general admission of the child as a member of the Hindû faith, without any reference to difference of caste; for, in early youth, the child of the Brahmin and that of the Sudra are upon a perfect equality; and they do not receive their distinctions until the period of investiture with the string, which takes place at the seventh or the ninth year, and is attended with another festival, and a fresh gift to the Brahmins.

After the child has been invested with the string that distinguishes his caste, he is understood to have begun the first of the three stages or degrees of human life,—has become a

pupil, to learn, to serve, or to do both, according to circumstances. The grand object of the pupilage is, that the student may become learned in the Vedas. For that purpose he is taken into the house of his spiritual father, in the capacity both of pupil and apprentice. The pupilage may be protracted till the pupil is thirty-six years of age, or he may voluntarily continue it for his whole life, which is accounted peculiarly meritorious. If, in the course of the term of study, the tutor die, the pupil is to pay the same deference, and render the same service to his widow, his son, or his personal relatives; but if none of these are alive, the honour which the teacher had in the family devolves upon the pupil. In addition to the Vedas, and other sacred books, many of the teaching Brahmins have cosmogonies, in which they present very whimsical views both of the temporal and the spiritual world.

The pupil may pass out of the house of his teacher into the second stage, or order, by getting married; or, after due study of the sacred books, and performance of the rites that are enjoined him, he may pass to the third, or holiest of them all, and become a devotee. The rules which the pupil must observe in the house of his teacher, are, like all the rest of the directions given in the sacred books, very

minute, and very trifling; and the whole are well calculated for making the Brahminical priest as much the dupe of his religion, as the vile Sudra, to whom it is a heinous offence to read the sacred books.

Even when the Hindû goes a courting, there are rules by which he is to proceed. The marriages, in as far as betrothing is concerned, take place at an early age, as early as eleven or twelve. If the parties can afford it, the ceremony is attended with considerable expense; and some of the ceremonies are not a little ludicrous. The marriage takes place at the house of the bride's father, for which the bridegroom departs in all the state that he can muster; and, as he leaves his own abode, a cow is tied up in the northern side of his apartment. [It will be recollected, that whatever the cow may do there, will sanctify instead of defiling the place—will only operate as a consecration.] Well, the cow being duly tied up, off rides the bridegroom, on elephant, in hackery, in palanquin, or on his own legs, according to his rank; and when he arrives at the abode of the bride's father, the ceremonies which are to confirm the union take place,—the most important of which is the bride's taking seven grave and solemn steps, and if she pause before the last one, there is no marriage. The steps are taken,

however; and when night comes, the bridegroom introduces her to the pole-star, as the proper emblem of stability; after which the newly-married couple sojourn in the house of the bride's father for three days, where the marriage-feast is held, and the man gives the presents, that are understood to be an equivalent for his wife. They then depart for their own home with due ceremonies; and the barber stands ready to divide the fastenings by which the cow is held; and just as the bride enters, the sacred quadruped makes her exit amid shouts of "the cow! the cow!" The persons who intermarry must not be within the sixth degree of affinity, neither must they have the same family name. In a first marriage a man must marry into his own caste; but in the event of a second, (and, though not often resorted to, three are allowed in cases where there are no children,) each caste has the range of its own and all below it.

Marriage is not, however, quite the same all over India; and, probably, the most remarkable variety of it is among the Nairs in Malabar. There the husband allows his wife food, clothing, and ornaments; but she remains in her father's house, or in that of her brothers, and her husband must not cohabit with, or even see her. She may cohabit with any one she

pleases, if not of a caste lower than her own ; and the children of the sisters are heirs to the brothers. Thus there is no person in the country that can by possibility know his father. Those Nairs are Sudras ; but they are of impure caste ; they drink strong liquors, and eat the flesh of almost all animals, excepting that of the sacred cow.

The teachers and pupils that have been mentioned, are not the common schoolmasters and their scholars—religion, or profession, is what is taught to the in-door pupils. The schools are day-schools ; and, in populous places, there are many of them supported by voluntary contributions ; while the more wealthy Hindûs keep a tutor in their families. Reading, writing, and accounts, are the chief branches taught in the village schools ; and the children generally sit in the open air under the shadow of a tree. At first they trace the letters in sand, (for they learn writing and reading at the same time,) with the fore-finger of the right hand, and keep the left hand ready to smooth the sand when they are to write anew. After they have made a little progress, the sand and finger are exchanged for a palm leaf and a metal style, the letters being first scratched and then rubbed over with charcoal. Those schools are usually confined to the language of the coun-



try ; and after reading and writing have been acquired, Hindû grammar, law, and metaphysics, complete the course of education. Many, indeed, learn Arabic and Persian ; but there are particular teachers for these.

The arithmetic of the Hindûs bears a considerable resemblance, both in its notation, and in the method of performing the operations, to that of modern Europe ; their algebra extends as far as quadratic equations, and they have methods of solving some of the orders of indeterminate problems. Their astronomical observations must also have been carried continuously over a period of nearly one thousand years, as they are in possession of some of the variations in the solar system, which take nearly that time to perform their revolutions. But the Hindûs, as we might suppose from the structure of their society, and the nature of their religion, do not appear ever to have shewn much desire to turn the science which they have to useful purposes in explaining the phenomena of nature. Astrology was, probably, the object that they always had in view ; and nothing is better calculated for making the ignorant believe that a man is familiar with, and, therefore, can controul the influences of the heavens, than his being able to predict an eclipse, or the appearance of a planet in a

certain part of the sky, at an assigned time. In the west, those matters have some influence in times not even the darkest; and, though, after philosophy has begun to light up the human race, astronomy is one of the most brilliant stars in the circle of the sciences, it is not the one which originates the light.

The ceremonies of his religion which accompany the Hindû in every stage and act of his life, thicken round him as that life draws to a close. Even among the enlightened there is something peculiarly affecting in death; and therefore it has always been a favourite time for superstition. When a disease is considered to be mortal, a sort of extreme unction is performed; and if, after that, the patient does not die, he becomes a pariah of the most unholy description. This is a power that may be exercised for the most abominable purposes, and there is little doubt that it is often so abused. If the dying man cannot be removed to the Ganges, or any other sacred stream or place, he is taken into the open air, and laid upon the sacred cusa grass (a species of *poa*); if near the Ganges, he is taken to that stream, has the mud and water thrown upon him, and the salgram stone laid close by; and there he remains, amid the performance of mummeries, till he expires. Then the women howl; the

relations lament; the body is washed; the sign of the caste made on the face; and the mouth filled with betel. Towards night, the pariahs carry the body to the place of funeral. That is a pile, if the deceased has been a worshipper of Vishnû, but a grave if a follower of Siva. When that place is arrived at, the relations proceed to examine whether the body be wholly dead, a fact which they were not previously very anxious to ascertain. For this purpose the body is pinched, water is dashed upon it, and noises are made with drums and trumpets. If the death take place in a house, that and the neighbouring ones are polluted, and all the people fast till the pariahs have carried away the body, which they do not by the door, but through a breach in the wall, made on purpose. After the funeral, the nearest relation goes to the house of the deceased with a staff to drive off the evil spirits; and they must fast, or nearly so, till the Brahmins are fed and feed, and all the rites performed. The funeral obsequies are performed ninety-six times in the course of a year; but the formal mourning, which includes the abstinence from betel, is very brief. Thus, at the time when it may be supposed that the survivors are most deeply affected, the faith of the Hindûs crowds its ceremonies, and also its de-

mands for the holy men, who are taking charge of the departing soul according to the established ritual. It is not well with the victim himself if the last act of his life be not a gift to the Brahmins; and, therefore, they take care to lay him on the sacred grass, or by the sacred stream, while yet he is able to make a bequest.

The numerous religious rites which the Hindûs must perform, and the length of time that they must take before they can support themselves and satisfy the demands of their rulers, do not leave them a great deal of time for their amusements. They are fond of amusements, however, and they have many classes of persons who are trained to exhibit. The number of these is, indeed, so great, that we can only mention the names of a few of the leading ones.

Probably the most general of these is the poet. His business is to recite tales and histories, which he does, sometimes with, and sometimes without, a sort of theatrical air. The language of some of those pieces is very flowery; but the story is often very absurd, and at times not over modest.

Lightly formed and agile as the Hindûs are, their religion forbids them the amusement of dancing. That is performed by the *dwadassi*,

or dancing girls, who are present upon all festive occasions. They are a religious order, devoted specially to the gods—and the officiating Brahmins. They are generally handsome girls, dressed in the greatest elegance that even the costume of the female Hindû admits of, and they are very richly adorned with jewels. Their movements too are imposing; but they err in gesture much in the same way that the poets do in words. Indeed it is the genius of the Hindû religion—for every thing is connected with that—to darken with obscenity that which would be beautiful or graceful, in the same manner as it darkens with absurdity that which would be sublime.

The professional wrestlers of India are among the most wonderful, as well as unexceptionable, of all the public exhibitions; and the grace as well as the agility and strength which they display, could not easily be exceeded by Europeans. That is one of the instances in which one gets a glimpse of what they might be, were it possible to break the mental fetters in which they are held; but the more that that unfortunate part of their condition is studied, the less hope there seems in it.

The jugglers have been often exhibited in this country; and, both in slight of hand, and in dexterity of manipulation, they are much su-

perior to the same class in the west. The great litheness of the Hindû, the delicacy of his hands, and the exquisite sensibility of his feeling of touch, give him a very decided superiority in every thing that depends upon these. The serpent jugglers, too, are a very singular class, for they certainly do handle the most poisonous snakes, with impunity, although not deprived of their fangs. Tumbling, and every other display of personal agility, might be expected among such a people; but to a stranger none of their exhibitions appears more daring than the mode in which they swing; and yet, hazardous as it seems to be, it is perfectly safe, and not injurious to health. The swing consists of two pieces of strong bambû,—one fastened securely in the ground, and steadied either by struts or gy-ropes, the other lies across the top, and is placed upon the first as a pivot. A rope is fastened to each end of the cross-piece; the shorter having a strong hook at the end, and the larger reaching down to the ground. The person to be swung has a strong bandage passed round his body, below which on the back the hook is passed; with the point outwards. By this arrangement the hook is in no danger of slipping, neither does it hurt the swinger. When the swinger is attached by his rope and hook to the one



end of the cross-piece, the people below take hold of the rope at the other end, and run rapidly round till the centrifugal force of the swinger stretches the rope, and projects him right out in the air, in which he seems floating; while the machine continues in motion, drums and other instruments of noise are beaten by the applauding crowd, while the attitude of the floating figure and the trappings with which it is ornamented, have a most imposing effect. The same centrifugal force which stretches the rope, not only keeps the body of the swinger in a horizontal position, but prevents him from receiving any injury, if the apparatus be strong enough to retain him. His head being nearest the centre of motion, the tendency of the blood is all the other way, and thus though the motion be very rapid, he does not feel the least inconvenience.

With all their pretended love of animal life, the Hindûs have no objection to a little cruelty to animals—nor, while they have hospitals for the comfortable maintenance of bugs and spiders in one part of the country, do they hesitate to bet their jewels, and even their clothes, upon the issue of a contest between cocks, quails, and other birds, which they have trained for the purpose. They are also fond of games, particu-

larly of the game of chess, which has been known among them from the remotest antiquity.

A people whose lives are made up of a succession of ceremonies in the way of religion, must necessarily have much ceremony in their social intercourse. One deserves notice on account of its name,—which is the same as that of one of the brutal sports of the depraved vulgar in England. That ceremony is *milling*; but, unlike its English namesake, the Hindû milling is neither intended nor calculated to promote ferocity and robbery. It is a ceremony of peace; and is a compliment by one Hindû of rank to another who is his equal. It usually takes place when they are encamped; and the two, with their attendants, mounted upon elephants, and ornamented with trappings, resort to the appointed place. When they come within sight of each other, there is a pause; and the styles and honours of the chiefs are proclaimed, much in the same manner as they were in Europe when tournaments were in fashion. When they have been both duly proclaimed, they approach each other, and he who is intended to be honoured by the ceremony, *mills* with all the attendants of the other,—that is, he clasps them round the body, lays his head first on the right shoulder and

then on the left, and afterwards salutes them by bringing the hand up to his forehead. When the attendants have been all milled with in this way, the person that has been honoured by the proceeding, remounts his elephant, and the whole is at an end. What may be the meaning of this ceremony, or whether it has any meaning, we have not been able to learn; but it is prepared for with much pomp, and considered too respectful and important for being mixed with any other intercourse.

Some of the amusements of the people have a considerable resemblance to those of Europe, and would almost induce one to conclude, that the coincidence is more than accidental. The cow-keepers of India erect their maypole, and adorn it with garlands, just as the rustics do in England; and though they do not dance round it themselves, that is done for them by the dancing girls of the village. There is a farther apparent coincidence. *Bhavani*, the festival at which the maypoles are erected, sounds something like the *Beltyne* of our ancestors. The festival of Huli, which is held in March, has some resemblance to our festival of fools—but that is a ceremony naturally enough to be looked for in every country.

Of the languages of India, it is impossible, consistently with a short sketch like this, to give

any account ; and that is the less to be regretted on account of the language of a people not being an index to any part of their character. There are many dialects, and even distinct tongues in India. The following are the names of some of the principal :—the Sanscrit, or sacred language, answers nearly the same purposes in India that Latin did in Europe during the middle ages. It is the principal vehicle of religion, law, science, and learning. The Pracrit, in a number of dialects, as many as ten, is said to have been the ancient spoken language over a great part of India ; but as there are no records, and no evidence that the inhabitants of the very distant parts of India had any knowledge of each other, no great reliance can be placed upon anything that is alleged upon the subject. There is a language called Pracrit still spoken among the Seiks to the north-west of Delhi, and in it the poetry and light literature of the country is chiefly written ; another dialect of this language is supposed to be the present stock of the Hindûstane. The language of Gujêrat is not unlike the Hindûstane ; and it prevails from Surat to the countries on the lower Indus. Bengalee, or the Gaura language, is spoken about Calcutta, and generally over the plain of Bengal. The Uriga language is spoken in Orissa ; and the Talinga is also used

on part of the coast of that country, and extends inland to the Balaghaut. The central parts of the Deccan use the Maharatta, the Zamel, and Canaree, on the west coast, and the latter also in part of the Mysore. It is easy to imagine how, even admitting that they had all have been the same, the languages of a country, the different parts of which had little or no intercourse, must have broken into dialects; and it is also easy to see how the priesthood should be anxious to continue the sacred books and rules in a language which was not anywhere the vernacular one. As the metaphysical part of no language can be correctly translated into another, there being no object of the senses to which both can appeal, a common religion cannot be the same without a common language. Among a people who have different languages, it thus can never be the same, and indeed it is doubtful whether the intellectual part of religion be precisely the same in any two individuals, although they not only speak the same language, but live under the same roof. But the verbal part—that which is said by the priests—will, if they have a sacred language, be the same as far as that language extends. While the Latin was the religious language of Europe, and the vulgar were forbidden to read the Bible, the church

was wonderfully the same in all countries; but the moment that the vernacular tongues were used, the spell and power of a universal catholic church were broken. The use of the Sanscrit language in religious matters, and the prohibition of the people from reading the Vedas, is, in supplement to caste, the grand foundation of the power of the Brahmins; and were some determined pundit to turn Luther, weed out the foolish legends from the sacred books of the Hindûs, and address the moral precepts that may be gleaned from them to the common understandings of men, in their own language, the Hindûs would have at least a chance of moral emancipation. If done at all, however, that must be done by a Hindû, and in the present state of that people, it is not easy to see whence the inducement and energy requisite for the accomplishment of such a task are to come,—certainly it were in vain to look for them, while there is not the slightest hope open to the honourable ambition of the Hindu—while not all the talent, conduct, worth and spirit that he may possess, can possibly raise him even to the petty office of village magistrate—hardly as the tool of strangers. Thus we see, that the very language of the Hindû adds another link to the chain which has continued to bind him from the beginning of history.



There is another point in which we may view the present state of India, through the medium of the past state of Europe. While the language which was no where vernacular in the west, continued to monopolize religion, the law, and whatever there happened to be of philosophy, there was nothing left for the literature of the people but tales and romances, and as those tales and romances wanted the curb of reason and morality, they ran, as one would say, quite wild. The composers of these things could not properly round them up with the legends that were accounted sacred, because that would have been invading the preserves of the church ; and therefore they armed men with supernatural fortunes, or brought about those wonderful incidents through the instrumentality of a sort of *lay gods* ; and thus, instead of tending in any way to set the minds of the people free from the dominion of that superstition which was imposed upon them by the priests, they gave them a new superstition in addition, and as both were of human origin, they worked well together, and jointly tended to keep the minds of the people in a state of slavery and degradation. This is precisely the case with the literature of India, and the similarity of the causes cannot fail to strike even the least reflective reader. There are, in some of the literary compositions

of the Hindûs, “as prave ’ords as you shall see in a summer’s day :” they are glowing, they are romantic, they are voluptuous ; but for anything that is even in the slightest degree calculated to enlighten the mind or elevate the character, they are sought in vain. They are not better than the volumes so well depicted by Cervantes, or those of our own old legends of the “Dragon of Wantly,” and the doughty “Earl of Warwick and the Red Cow.” If the literature of the people is disjoined from philosophy, it never can by possibility have the least effect in elevating the national character.

Thus, examine it in which way we will, we find that there is not a single crevice through which the intellect of the Hindû can creep out, not the slightest foundation upon which anything mental can be built ; and while the system continues, there are no means by which these can be made better. If the most able, the most daring, the most enlightened man that imagination can picture to itself, were to be placed over them, with their present systems of castes, law, and religion, they would not rise along with him ; and thus there would be only his present exertions during his lifetime, and when his life was over, the dull mass would return and obliterate every memorial of him, as speedily and as certainly as the returning

tide obliterates the foot prints in the sand. The sand, by the way, is no bad emblem or illustration; it yields to every wave, because there is no power of aggregation or coherence in it; and it is just because there is no principle of union among them—nothing to bind them together—that the Hindûs have been so passive under conquest, so bandied about from spoiler to spoiler. If there had been the spirit of man in the millions of Bengal—if they had been imbued with the very feeblest throb of that pulse for their kindred and their land, which made the Dutch stand up for their little corner of salt marsh and morass, all the Babers or all the Clives that ever were born, never would have held one foot of the country.

We have a pretty constant illustration of that in the literature of our own country. However copious, full, and refreshing, the general stream of that may flow, there is always “a dribbling runnel,” which meanders through the wastes of society, and makes, as one may say, desolation look more desolate; and if all that any foreign people knew of the mind of England were drained from what is called our light literature—from the annual weeds that grow on our wastes, or the *ephemera* that sport over our puddles, the opinion which that people

would form of us would not be very exalted ; and before we give ourselves any airs of superiority, we ought to reflect that this is the only portion of literature that is left to the people of India.

## CHAPTER IX.

NATIVE POPULATION—INDUSTRY AND THE  
ARTS.

SPINNING.

IN the earlier periods of history, and before science had entered into and irradiated the workshops of Europe, the arts of India were

highly famed ; and it must be admitted that, in as far as mere manual dexterity is concerned, they are superior to any other people. Several natural causes conspire to produce this ; their hands are more delicately formed ; their bodies are more light and flexible ; their subsistence costs them less ; and they are not rendered incapable of working by the use of stimulating liquors. The real advances which any people may have made in the arts, are not, however, to be estimated from even the exquisite polish and finish of a few articles ; we find a polish on the wing-covers of a beetle, and a texture in the wing of a fly, that are unequalled by the finest labours of the Hindûs. The real advancement of the arts is to be sought more in the tools with which men work, than in the works which they produce ; and in that respect the Hindûs are greatly behind.

Agriculture may justly be considered as the leading art among the Hindûs, because that is the source of all their wealth. In the procuring of water, a great deal of labour has been exerted, and there is some ingenuity in the mode in which that water is distributed ; but in all that, there is not any science—nothing that could not easily be done by the very rudest people. In many places too, the fields



are kept very neat, and the crops are abundant ; but all the implements are of the very rudest construction. The plough merely scratches—it does not turn up the soil ; it consists of two rude sticks, or sometimes only of one crooked one, and the field has to be ploughed again and again, in all directions, before it be reduced to any thing like mould. The ploughman guides the plough tail with one hand; and the tails of the cattle with the other ; or sometimes one woman is found pushing the plough behind, while two young girls are pulling at the heads of the bullocks, and the rut or scratch that is made in the field twists about like a corkscrew.

In the cleared lands, more especially in those that are flooded, the working of the soil is by no means a difficult operation ; but the labour that is necessary in order to bring into cultivation lands that have been overrun by jungle and bushes is immense. Some particulars in the mode of working the land in the Balaghaut district, south of the Krishna, may be mentioned as a specimen, because that has been all along more decidedly a Hindû district than almost any other that could be selected. The armies that made their destructive marches over that country, in the times of Hyder and Tippoo, reduced great part of it to a desert, and thus

enabled the British, when they obtained possession, to see how waste lands in that part at least, of India, are brought under cultivation.

The soil there is a strong black mould, of about seven feet in depth upon the average; and of course such a soil, when neglected, gets overrun with bushes. The first process is to clear it of these; and then, the following are the operations by which one hundred acres are brought into culture: one month's constant ploughing from east to west; another month of the same from north to south; a third month grubbing up the roots; harrowing for six weeks, from morning to night every day, by a machine, that requires sixteen bullocks to pull it along, two weeks harrowing by six-bullock machines; two weeks more by two-bullock ones; two weeks pulling out roots; and other two of the light harrows; in all, including festivals, about seven months for one ploughing. It is true, that, after this has been done, one harrowing by the four-bullock machine, annually, suffices for nearly twenty years; and some of the poorer farmers use no other implement than a bush with a large stone on the top of it, for covering the seed, after scratches have been made for it by the drill-plough. Sowing in drills points itself out as the natural mode, where ploughing

is making a scratch, at both sides of which the mud is thrown up equally; and that accordingly is the general method in the districts alluded to.

The sowing is just as clumsy as the ploughing. The common drill-machine has three pieces of sticks, that make scratches about an inch and a half in depth, and the seeds drop into the scratches through three hollow bits of bambû, that are immediately behind the scratching sticks. Those bambûs are united to one rude vessel at the top, in which the various small seeds are mixed together; the larger seeds are sown by another machine: a bambû, fastened to the drill by a string, and having a little cup upon the top of it. A woman attends to this bambû, holding it directly over any one of the three scratches, into which she wishes the seed to fall with the one hand, and dropping the seeds into the cup with the other. The covering plough follows. It is a horizontal stick, which is drawn along by two bullocks, and by being passed against the ground, covers the seeds in the scratches with mould. The operation of sowing thus daily requires the attention of four persons, and the labour of four bullocks.

After those seven months of scratching and working with sticks and hands in the one case,

and with bullocks and bambûs in the other, one would naturally suppose that the ground would be completely mellowed in the one case, and the seed well distributed in the other ; but such is not the case. Two or three inches of the surface have been scratched by the great plough ; those scratches have been deepened by passing the plough two or three times along the same one ; and they have crossed each other, so as to divide the whole surface into very minute square hillocks. The harrow has rubbed the surfaces of those hillocks, and all that has been loosened by both operations is cleared of roots ; but the quantity so cleared is only a small portion of the entire surface, and in the whole bottom of the soil the roots remain, and give constant occupation in plucking the shoots that they send to the surface.

In the case of the covering, the crops are mixed ; one of them ripens at one time, and another at another ; so that, besides the quantities of the late ones that are trampled down in gathering the earlier, each takes part of the nourishment from the other, and the produce of the field is really less than if it had been divided into quarters, and each of them sown with one single species. There is labour displayed in this tedious agriculture ; but there is no talent, no invention : the plough that is in

use now, must be the same as that which was in use two thousand years ago ; at least, it cannot be better ; for, assuredly, the present implements are only an improvement upon one system, and that system is, a man scratching the earth with his fingers.

Even in Bengal, the method of cultivation is not better than that which has been mentioned. The plough is the same clumsy instrument, and the land is neither worked nor manured as it ought to be. Instead of thrashing machines, the Hindûs have not invented so much as a flail : the rice is beaten out of the husk, the pulse trodden out by cattle, and the small grain thrashed with a staff. Roads there are none, except what have been made by the Mahomedans, or the British, or in imitation of them. The wheel-carriages, or hackeries, that are used for agricultural purposes, are more inconvenient than the cars in the wildest parts of Ireland. The body consists of two bambûs, with a few steps across ; the wheels are little discs of wood, not very round, and the creaking of the wheels proves, that even if the roads were better, little would be gained by the using of them.

Tanks, water-courses, and wells, are very numerous, and some of them of large dimensions ; but these are seldom the works of the cultivators of the soil ; generally speaking, they

are the property of government, and the constructing of them has been forced even upon that. A Hindû rajah is as dependent upon the yearly crop, as the ryots who cultivate the soil; and, therefore, the tank, or the other means of irrigation, whatever they may be, are necessary for his very existence. On this account, the constructing of a tank has become, something like the building of a pagoda, a meritorious work in a religious point of view. But in both cases, it is the mere construction to which the merit is attached: in short, when they are made, they are not kept in order; and many of those dams and ditches, that have been made with great labour, are, from the rank and rotting weeds with which they are choked up, as conducive to pestilence as to plenty.

There are two modes of cultivation in India: the *nunjah*, or wet, and the *punjah*, or dry. The *nunjah* is by far the most valuable, as the crop is in a great measure certain, not depending on the contingencies of the weather. Upon lands of this kind, only one sort of crop is, generally speaking, sown at the same time, and therefore it is gathered with less waste. These lands can afford the highest rent, and the rent of them used generally to be paid in kind—about half the produce. The rice lands are, generally speaking, *nunjah* lands; and though the *totical*,



that is, the watched lands, do not pay so high a portion of the produce in rent, they are watered in the same manner as the nunjah. The totical lands are those devoted to garden culture, in which sugar-canes, capsicums, tobacco, and other articles which are supposed to require much more labour than mere rice fields, are produced.

The modes by which the nunjah lands are irrigated are, the natural floods of rivers, artificial water courses drawn from rivers, tanks which collect the rain-water, and wells from which the water is drawn. All these rise in expense over each other ; and, with the exception of the wells, they all require that the land should lie lower than the water. There are therefore some places where none of these methods will apply, and where, on account of the depth, wells cannot be made use of. The great depth of some of the wells in the western part of Hindûstan Proper has been mentioned ; but there are places near the Indus, where wells cannot be easily dug. In those places, wheels are placed on the river, constructed like the common Persian wheel, and by means of them, the soil, which otherwise would be an unprofitable sand, is well watered, and produces abundant crops. Those wheels are the property of the rajah, kept in order at his expense, and let

out to the cultivators at an average yearly rent of about five shillings and sixpence an acre. Those contrivances are, however, only partial, and neither on the Indus, nor in the lower part of the Panjaub, are those advantages derived from the rivers, which, under more settled governments, might render those parts of India so much more valuable than they are at present.

The natural floods of the Ganges and its branches irrigate a vast extent of land ; but even in that part of Hindûstan the proper advantages are not taken of them. In Bengal there is not above a third part of the land under crop ; and yet the population is so dense, that there is an inhabitant for every acre. This is but a sorry state of things, in respect either to domestic abundance, or disposable produce ; and one is very apt to wonder why, in the home country of the British government, as it were, such should be the state of things. It is, however, a matter of necessity with the Hindûs ; and there is but too much reason to fear that the British have been the cause of it. The country people of Bengal dare not live but in considerable villages, because of the *dacoits*, and the very circumstance of the people crowding together leaves range and shelter for those robbers in every district. Those robbers

do not excite the same hatred which most people have to banditti. The head man of a village is often known to belong to one of the gangs; and yet, because none of the natives will come forward and give evidence against him, he goes about openly, and walks even into the courts of justice without the least apprehension. Dacoits are indeed the most dextrous of thieves, and that formation which so well fits the Hindû for nice mechanical operations, fits him equally well for pilfering. At night they do not make the least noise; and a Dacoit will rob your tent while you are lying awake, without your having the least idea that any one has been there, till you miss your property in the morning. There does not therefore appear to be any means by which those robbers can be extirpated; for though one is taken, another immediately occupies his place; but till something shall be done with them, Bengal will never be half so productive as it otherwise might be.

There are a good many tanks in the Valley of the Ganges, which are filled in some places by the floods of the rivers, and in others by the rains. As the country is flat, those tanks are excavated, and they are generally lined with a mixture of lime and clay, so as to render them impervious. Those tanks are expensive works,

some of them having a surface of one hundred acres. Generally speaking, they are the property of government, and a tax is paid by the people for the use of the water; but in other cases they are constructed and kept in repair by individuals; and some idea of the value of irrigation may be formed from the fact, that he who constructs and keeps in repair a tank, is allowed one-fourth of the land which it waters, in property. Thus it is obvious, that the culture, by means of water from tanks, is far more costly than by that of rivers; and it need hardly be added that the wells are still more expensive.

South of Bengal, there are not many of the rivers adapted for irrigation, with the exception of the Caverry, and some of the other streams in the Carnatic; but on these, especially the Caverry, and the small river Bhawani, in the Coimbatore district, the canals and water courses are constructed upon much more scientific principles than in any other part of India, so much so, that European engineers could hardly improve them.

Tanks, however, are, in the hilly district, the usual resources; and, in the Deccan, more especially toward Surat, they are very well constructed. There are, indeed, great inducements to their construction, for land that is watered

by tanks is, upon the average, worth eight times as much as that which is left to the rain ; and as the rain sometimes fails, and the whole crop is lost, the people, but for the tanks, would live in a continual dread of famine. Some of the public tanks in the Carnatic are large lakes, as much as twenty-four square miles in area ; and the tank belonging to a single village sometimes irrigates land upon which five thousand people are employed.

The wells are generally had recourse to in places where the rain is uncertain, or where, from the flat and porous nature of the surface, tanks cannot be rendered so available. The Balaghaut, Malwa, Gujerat, and Ajmeer, are the places where wells are most abundant. The depth of some of them has been already mentioned ; but, as they have to be built strongly with masonry, to resist the pressure of the loose soil, even the depth gives no idea of the expense. In the dry part of Gujerat there is one well, which is said to have cost one hundred thousand pounds ; and, after all, the water has to be drawn from a depth of more than three hundred feet. Boring, which has been found to answer so well in some parts of England, would be of little use in India, because the water, from the form of the surface, and consistency of the soil, would not rise.

One of the most remarkable wells in India is at the Jumma Musjeed, or principal mosque in Delhi. It was constructed at vast expense, by the Emperor Shah Jehan. The water is raised by machinery, and fills a small fish-pond in the area of the mosque. During the troubles, this well was allowed to fall into decay; but the British repaired it in 1809.

The picotah, or machine, by which the water is in many places drawn from those wells, is thus described by Sonnerat:—"Near the well, a piece of wood is fixed, forked at the top; on this fork another piece of wood is fixed, to form a swipe, which is fastened by a peg, and steps cut out at the bottom, so that the person who works the machine may easily get up and down. Commonly, the lower part of the swipe is the trunk of a large tree. To the upper part is fixed a pole, at the end of which hangs a leather bucket. A man gets up the steps to the top of the swipe, and supporting himself by a bambû screen erected at the well, he plunges the bucket into the side, and descending again, by his weight draws it up. Another man attends to pour the water into the basin, from which it runs in furrows over the whole field. The person who empties the bucket says, to encourage himself, 'one, two, three,' according to the number that he has emptied."



When rice is to be the crop, there are three modes of cultivation ; dry seed, sprouted, and transplanted. In the first, the seed is allowed to come to maturity in the same land in which it is sown ; in the second, the seed is put in water till it vegetates, and then it is thrown upon the field, previously reduced to the consistency of a puddle ; in the third, the plants are reared upon a piece of very rich land, till they are about a foot in height, and the land that is to receive them is kept flooded. The plants are taken up with little balls of clay at the roots, which sink them to the bottom, and the plants stand erect, and grow without any further trouble. The first of these is used on dry lands, the other on flooded ; and, if the flooding be artificial, the field is divided into squares of about ten yards on the side, with puddled margins, to retain the water. Good rice lands in Bengal yield about forty bushels per acre, and the best in Mysore about five bushels more ; fifteen bushels of produce for one of seed, is reckoned a fair return. In Hindûstan Proper, though there are generally two rice crops in the year on the farm, they are very seldom on the same field. In the rich valleys, among the Ghauts, where the streams always contain water, there are often two crops on the land, and sometimes three. Rice is usually cut with the

sickle, and about four feet length of stubble left on the field for manure. The grain is beaten from the stalks, and the husks are removed by a wooden pestle and mortar. When it is to be stored, it is first scalded in hot water, and then dried in the sun. The granaries are generally constructed of teak, as a protection against vermin. The Dacca Jelalpoor district of Bengal, or doab of the Ganges and Brahmapootra, the greater part of which has the appearance of a sea in the rainy season, is the best rice country in India. Rice is the principal grain crop on the *nunjah* lands. When the land is exhausted for that, when the rain fails, and sometimes on the rice stubble, a dry crop is tried, which is called *nunjah mahal punjah*, or high and dry, wet culture. The best kinds of dry grain are sown in these cases; and the lands that are watered from wells by the *pecotah*, are usually of this description, that mode of watering being too expensive for rice, on account of the great quantity of water necessary to ensure a crop.

In Gujerat, Malwa, and Allahabad, a good deal of wheat is sown, the culture of which is intermediate between that of the rice and the smaller grains, such as raggy and millet. Forty ploughings or scratchings, and a great deal of watering, are required for a good crop of wheat;

the average produce of wheat, upon the best land, is about fifty bushels an acre. September and October are the sowing months for wheat, and the reaping time is in March and April. The wheat is often mixed with other grain, or pulse, and even with oil plants and dye-weeds, so that the crop of the one is injurious to that of the other.

In the hilly districts of Northern Hindûstan, barley is the bread grain of the people, though, even there, flax and other oil plants are often mixed with it. In the south, cotton is often sown in the same field with pulse and raggy, and, as the gathering of the cotton requires a great deal of trampling on the field, much of the other crops is destroyed. When the culture is pure punjah, however, the people cannot trust to one crop, on account of the uncertainty of the season, and that is the chief reason why they mix together so many kinds.

The districts that are most famed for cotton, are Gujerat, especially some parts between the Mhye and Nerbudda, the country on the Tuptee, the south-west of Gundwana, some districts on the Jumnah, and the Tinnavelly district of the Carnatic; but cotton is so much required for the clothing of the people, that the culture for home consumption is very general, though the produce of the districts that

have been mentioned is the most esteemed in the markets. Cotton is often sown along with other crops; these are cut down before the rain sets in, and then the cotton advances to maturity; but the cotton crop is by no means a sure one, as it is almost equally injured by an excess of drought and of moisture. There are also very few lands that will bear two crops of cotton in succession. The importation of cotton from India into Britain is very great, the quantity for the year ending 5th January 1829, being more than thirty-two millions of pounds; and the sale price, fourpence halfpenny a pound.

Indigo has been a product of the country from time immemorial. The centre of Hindûstan Proper is the most favourable soil and climate for it; and it is found growing wild in the Doab of the Ganges and Jumnah. The quantity imported for the year formerly alluded to, was little short of ten millions of pounds; only one thirty-second part of the cotton, and about one-fourth of the indigo, were imported by the Company.

Opium.—The juice of the poppy (*papaver somniferum*) dried in the sun, is one of the commercial products, chiefly of Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Malwa; but it is rather an uncertain crop. Thirty or forty pounds of

opium is about the average produce of an acre ; but the seed, which is in demand as an ingredient in the sweet cakes eaten by the upper classes of the Hindûs, generally weighs as much more ; and an under crop of herbs, and sometimes of grain, is grown along with it.

On the totical lands, one of the most abundant and most valuable crops is sugar ; and were the culture duly encouraged, India might, on account of the cheapness of labour, supply all the world with that article, at a lower rate than it can be procured any where else. Sugar-canes are grown only on the richest soils, and these are cropped with sugar only once in four or five years ; but the produce is very abundant, and consequently the lands let high. In the best sugar district of India, the Rajahmundry division of the Circars, immediately to the north of the Godavery, the produce of a single acre of canes is about five thousand pounds weight ; and when the juice is dried, molasses and all, into the jaggary, which is commonly used in the country, it is considerably more. The canes are planted in January, and are ready to cut down in the November following. A district in that part of India having less than two square miles of surface, produces as much sugar as one-fourth of the whole island of Jamaica ; while the cultivation

of the plants, and the manufacture of the sugar probably does not cost one-fourth of the sum. The expense of producing sugar in the West Indies is more than twenty shillings a hundred weight—but call it that for the sake of simplicity ; and the expense of producing as much as is yielded by one acre of the zemindaree of Peddapoor, in the Circars, would be forty-four pounds, the produce being forty-four cwt. per acre on the average. The number of acres in the district alluded to is one thousand one hundred ; and thus the whole cost of cultivation would be, at the West India price, forty-eight thousand four hundred pounds, which, at the rate of one rupee per month, would maintain a population of thirty-six thousand Hindûs. A negro and a half per hogshead is a high allowance in Jamaica ; but say that two Hindûs would be required, and that the other expenses amounted to as much, which would not be the case in India, we have for the whole manufacture of the two thousand seven hundred hogsheads, the labour of ten thousand eight hundred Hindûs, ; deduct that from forty-eight thousand four hundred, and we have a saving of thirty-seven thousand six hundred ; or the cost of a hundred weight of sugar in India is to the cost of the same in Jamaica, as one hundred and eight is to four hundred and eighty-four, or as twenty-seven to one hundred and twenty-



one, or, while it costs one pound in the one country, it costs only four and sixpence in the other. There has been a great deal said about a revenue from India, and many schemes have been tried in order to obtain one—though not with very great success; and yet it is pretty clear, that had the same attention been paid to the making of sugar that has been paid to the making of nabobs, the one trade would have been as much a profit as the other has been a loss. It is true that the interests of the West India colonists has been in the way; but it is equally true, that when any branch of trade would be a benefit to the whole country, the partial interests of no class ought to be permitted to stand in the way of it; and if West Indians, or any other class of persons whatever, cannot support themselves, but by that indirect sort of beggary which hurts all the rest, they ought to be left to themselves.

No doubt the sugar of India, as now imported, is inferior to that of the Columbian Archipelago; but that partly arises from the way in which it is manufactured. Once make it a staple trade of India, and it would soon improve.

Tobacco is cultivated to a considerable extent on the totical lands. The plant is not a native of India, any more than the sugar cane

is of the west, but was introduced about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Many places of India are famed for the flavour of their tobaccos ; but perhaps there is none equal, and certainly none superior, to that of the district of Bilsa, on the north side of the Vindhaya ridge, near the source of the river Betwah.

In all the crops produced by the Hindûs, the soil and the watering are the chief means. The ploughing, as we have seen, is very inferior, and what they call hoeing is not much better : some of the roughest weeds are removed by it, but that is all. Predatory animals are so numerous in India, that the crops require a great deal of watching, both after the seeds are sown, and before they vegetate, and when they begin to ripen. The districts near the jungles, where there are elephants and wild cattle, are apt to suffer from the depredations of these, when they are green ; but, generally speaking, the most annoyance is given by birds. Men or boys, armed with slings, are stationed about the fields to drive off these, raised upon little towers of clay in the dry season, and stages with roofs over them, during the rains. Those watchmen make a great deal of noise, but they seldom use the sling, lest they should be guilty of the sin of taking away animal life. In some

places the watching must be continued both night and day ; because, though the birds retire at night-fall, the large bats occupy their place, and carry on their depredations during the night.

Though mangoes, Palmyra palms, and other trees, be favourites with the Hindûs in most parts of the country, and though they appear to have more regard for the tree planted by their fathers than for anything else, yet Bengal, and the lower part of the Valley of the Ganges generally, are not well adapted for the growth of fruit, or even of the common culinary vegetables. In the vegetating season, there is too much moisture, and too little sun ; and thus, though there be abundance of growth, the fruits do not ripen, and the vegetables are insipid. In the elevated tracts, the culture of gardens is more successful, and in Mysore in particular, much attention is paid to them. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Emperor Shah Jehan expended nearly a million sterling in the formation of royal gardens near Delhi ; and Hyder and Tippoo had fine gardens near Bangalore. Those gardens were divided by walks into a number of little plots, and each plot was generally planted with one vegetable, remarkable for its foliage, its flowers, and its fruit. Tippoo had some of the trees and

fruits of temperate climates; the oak, the cypress, the peach, and the apple. Indeed the ground about Bangalore is so well adapted for gardens, that a great part of it is under garden culture. It is a rich black soil, of great depth, and, from the elevation, the climate is rather temperate. Water is generally found at the bottom of the soil too; so that when wells become necessary, the depth of them seldom exceeds twenty feet. Those places of India are, however, too warm for the vegetables of Europe.

Near the towns there is always a great deal of vegetable culture,—melons, water-melons, gourds, cucumbers, various species of egg plants, Chilli peppers, and many others, which are variously dressed in curries and soups. In all places of India where gardening is a separate occupation, the gardener is accounted a lower order of the caste than the grain farmer.

The pastures of India are in general wretched. Vegetation disappears from the surface altogether in the dry season; and the grapes, which spring up and look green during the rains, are chiefly of the bent, or *agrostis* genus (sp. *Indica lenta*, and some others), which are too hard for being eaten, and contain little nourishment. There are exceptions, however. The Purneah

district of Bengal, the lucky jungle in the west of Delhi, and north of Ajmeer, some parts of the Mysore, the country above the Western Ghauts, and a good deal of Gujerat, afford fine pastures. The chief products of the dairy, besides milk, are cheese and ghee, which are made indiscriminately from the milk of the cow and the buffalo. The quantity of cheese is not great, and the quality is very inferior. Ghee is a much more general article ; and perhaps it is necessary to use butter in that form in a country where it so soon turns rancid. It usually takes a great deal of milk to produce a very little butter. The butter is kept two days, at the end of which it is quite rancid ; so it is taken and melted, and kept boiling till no more vapour will rise from it, at which time it is of course the animal fixed-oil, without any admixture. In that state it is put into pots, or leather bottles, and is called ghee. Wool is of little value in India, and in the low and warm districts, where fortunately wool is not wanted, sheep do not thrive. In the Balaghaut country, where the people wear a sort of blanket, sheep are better ; but still it takes the fleeces of nearly a score to make a decent blanket, or camelay, for one man.

Though the wages of agricultural labour in India be small in amount, they are not so small

in comparison to their wants as the wages of the same class of persons in England ; and consequently there is little of what we call common begging in the country. To live upon alms there is too honourable for the inferior castes, being the only mode of life worthy of the holiest Brahmins. Slave labour is not general ; but on the Malabar coast, the field labour is in some districts performed by slaves, who are the slaves of the masters, as in the West Indies, and not of the soil, as in some parts of Europe. These are sold very cheap, the average for a young man and his wife being about seven pounds ; and if they have two or three children, these are worth perhaps two pounds more. Those slaves are worse fed, and more harshly treated, than the negroes in the West Indies ; and yet in one respect they have the advantage over these : a man and his wife cannot be separated ; and whenever a slave girl chooses to marry one of her own caste, she passes over to her husband's master without purchase.

From the short notice that we have taken of the agricultural industry of the Hindûs, it must have already appeared to the reader, that the people of no country stand more in need of an excellent government,—of a government that is intimately acquainted with all their habits, that will treat them with mildness and forbearance,



and that will devote to those public works that are so essential, not only to make the country prosperous, but absolutely to keep the people from perishing of famine, every rupee that can be spared after the proper administration of the government. The tanks, the water-courses, the wells, are all too costly for being made and kept in order by individuals; and as for public roads, there is hardly any such in India. These are wanted—they are among the very essential elements of improvement; without them a country cannot be united. As for supporting them by tolls, that would be out of the question; and considering that the government divides with the farmer the whole of his produce, it ought to afford him every accommodation without any additional expense.

If the British are to continue in India—and that, under some modification or other, they will so continue, we may take for granted—there is very much to do for India, before any revenue, even if it were possible to get it—which is a very debateable question—could honestly come to England. Nay, there must be a good deal more capital than has yet been expended sent out to India, before all be done that ought to be done there. This may at first sight seem a hardship; but in reality it is not. We would pity a man whom we should find condemned to stand

supporting the roof of an old house upon his shoulders; but if we were told that the man had voluntarily thrust himself into that position, and after he had got into it, had kicked away all the other props, we would cease to pity him, and admit that the pressure on him were perfectly just. The power of the British in India is quite a parallel case. The Company have reduced the native powers and rulers in India to nothing. It may be for the good of the people; or it may not. That has nothing to do with the general question, but must be decided on the particular facts. But they have made the country, in itself, defenceless: and if they do not protect it, it must be the prey of any one who pleases. They have made it more completely defenceless than ever it was made by any former conquerors. These, in the very paroxysm of their subjugating, always left something to the Hindûs; but the Company have left them nothing—not the very meanest office. It is not the nature of Hindû society that the people should be very aspiring: the superstitions of religion and castes prevent that; but patronage, even the smallest patronage, has been so sweet to the Company, that they have not left so much as the tax-gatherership of a village open to the natives of India. The structure of society among the people themselves nar-

rowed honourable ambition to a small number ; but the Company have swept away the whole. The train of reflection that this view of the matter opens up is long, and it is far from pleasant ; but as it is one which must naturally suggest itself to the reader, the following of it out is quite unnecessary. We shall, therefore, glance at the other branches of Hindû industry.

The productions of the loom have been the manufacture for which India has been most celebrated ; and as long as the people of the west were obliged to spin with their fingers, there was not even a chance that the texture of their cotton fabrics should be equal to that of those of India ; and though since the people of Europe began to spin with their heads, they have far exceeded the Hindûs in the cheapness of their manufactures, there is no question that the fabrics of India are still more durable, if not more beautiful.

The eastern coast of the Peninsula, and the Valley of the Ganges, are the places of India that have been most famed for their cotton manufactures. Those for the trade of Madras are collected all the way from Cape Comorin to Ganjam, near the Chilka lake, in the Circars ; the principal part of the goods is made in the Circars, although the manufacture be

spread along the coast for an extent of fifteen hundred miles. The manufacture is also carried on in Orissa, Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad and Oude. The fabrics vary with the districts, both on account of the different qualities of the cotton, and the different habits of the people, who are just as unvarying in their industry, as they are in their other customs. The muslins of Dacca have long been famed for their exquisite texture, though the cotton is not the produce of that part of the country. But the strong cotton, which forms the stripes or cords in some of the muslins and in the dimities, grows in that district. The destruction of the Mahomedan power has been a severe blow to the manufacturers of Dacca, as much of the finest manufacture was brought up for the courts and zenanas of the emperor and his omrahs. Many of the families by whom that fine manufacture was carried on, have now abandoned it; and the art is in some danger of being lost. Cottons of common fabric, as well as figured ones of various kinds, still continue to be manufactured in many parts both of the Valley of the Ganges and of Orissa. Chintzes are chiefly produced in the Calcutta and Benares districts, and in the Masulipatam district of the Circars. The effect that the British trade now has upon the cot-

tons, which are the staple manufacture of India, may be judged of from the fact, that the quantity annually sent out much exceeds that sent home, and that many places in the East that used to take supplies wholly from India, are now in part or in whole supplied with British manufacture; also that cotton twist and yarn, to the amount of nearly four hundred thousand pounds, are annually sent from this country to India. The quantity of British cottons, in fabrics of some sort or other, sent out to India in the year ending the fifth of January 1829, amounted to about forty-three millions of yards, and the estimated value to one million six hundred thousand pounds sterling: so that the whole value of manufactured cotton sent to that country, amounted to more than two millions. The whole of the cotton imported from India, during the same year, amounted to little more than nine hundred thousand pounds, of which more than six hundred thousand pounds were cotton wool, and about one third of the remainder nankins from China. So that the quantity of cotton, in some stage of manufacture, sent from Britain to India, is ten times the value of that sent from India to Britain. We hear a great deal about the protection of this trade, and the other trade, at home or in the colonies, and sacrifices must be made here, in order to afford a protection there;

but that which we have stated is the result of the protection which the East India Company have afforded to the staple manufacture of their subjects in the East,—of those subjects from whom they are fondly (and, if the term were not an ungracious one to apply to rulers, we would say foolishly) hoping to receive a revenue. This is so different from the usual way in which people are treated, when a surplus revenue is expected from them, that we cannot help expressing a little wonder at it; and though there were not one other debateable feature in the whole case, we think that this would go far to decide the question, to show that any number of men, living in this country, and actuated by British interests, cannot by possibility have such watchfulness over the welfare of their distant subjects, as a local government would have, however imperfect it might be in the details. Truly the Company would do well to make the fable of “the boy and the goose” a standing homily on court-days, and to print it rubric to all their legislation craft.

It is true that the Company are not the chief exporters of cotton wool from India, or the chief importers of cotton twist and cotton fabrics into that country; these are done to the greatest extent by the free traders; and it is clearly the interest of the British to push their



goods into every place where they can find a profitable market. But that does not exonerate the rulers of India. If they levy the revenue, they thereby bind themselves to find protection for the people, in their industry as well as their persons ; and the case is not a jot altered by the fact that the Company have got themselves into debt, which they never can possibly discharge. The anticipation of that might have been very good, as a matter of warning, before the Company laid themselves under the heavy obligation that is upon them ; but it does not palliate any neglect of the interests of the people. It may be very true that the present rulers of India may, from bias as well as ignorance, be a little unfit for governing India, and fastidious persons are apt to say that the case cannot by possibility be otherwise. Upon that we do not enter—we look merely at the facts. The Company are *de facto* the rulers of India ; and therefore, unless it be statute that truth is an absurdity as well as a libel, they are *de jure* bound to protect and promote the interests of the Hindûs, not only more than, but in opposition to, those of every other country whatever. If they do not—if they prefer the interests of any other country, or their own interests as members of the community of any other country, to the interests of

the Hindûs—then, by every principle of the law of nations, they are guilty of high treason against the population of India, and are, in justice, obnoxious to that punishment which the said law of nations awards for the offence ; nor have they any plea in arrest of judgment according to that law, but the usual reason why man or monarch needs not be convicted. This applies to the Company, and it applies yet more forcibly to the Board of Centroul, inasmuch as they are members of the administration of England, and stand bound by their oaths to prefer the interests of England to those of every other nation. How such a contrariety of interests works we need not inquire ; for, whatever may be the good intention toward India, the good deed will always be done for England and Englishmen. This however is not the usual view of the question, nor is it one which any party in England will be very willing to take ; as, until a similarity—for which there is not at present one ground of hope—shall take place between India and England, reason never can find out how the English can conduct themselves in such a manner in India as to give them, in abstract justice, a competent title to the revenues of that country. They have the revenue, however, and it is just as difficult to see how they are to get

rid of it, with advantage to themselves or the people of India, as it is to see how they can continue to keep it without plunging themselves deeper in debt, and probably in injustice. Any men, but especially men of unquestionable honour and unspotted character, deserve commiseration, when they are found in such a dilemma.

The antiquity of the cotton manufacture, if it stood in need of proof, would be proved by those who are engaged in it being particular castes; but it is not a little remarkable, that one of the first operations in the manufacture should be performed by Mahomedans, and the Mahomedans also spin the warp, which is of course the best yarn. The cotton is removed from the seeds by very simple rollers, and the little machine is found in every house. The cotton is then beaten by the string of a bow, something in the same manner as hatters beat the wool that they are to felt. This is the operation performed by the Mahomedans, and hence it is probable that it is not ancient among the Hindûs, but that it is better than their original method of carding, whatever it may have been. The woofs are spun by the country women, and are almost the only occupation by which they can earn any thing for the supply of their humble wants. There have been

complaints made in England of the loss to the labourer from the use of machinery. Those complaints are not well founded, because the machine works cheaper, and the labourer comes in, in some other way, for his share of the saving; but while the machine-twist deprives the poor Hindû woman of her handful of rice, or her little bit of raggy-cake, as hard and black as a stone, there is no compensation for her,—no, not so much as a poor-rate. She may die in her own way; for her moan is too feeble for being heard at the collector's bungalow.

In those districts where the cotton is spun, the women are at work even before it is light; they buy the weekly supply of cotton at the village markets, and dispose of the yarn to the weavers. The machinery used for spinning and for winding the yarn is exceedingly simple. The weavers also reside in the villages, and when there is a demand, no scene can be more busy than the cloth districts of India. Man, woman, and child are all employed in one way or another; and they are all in the open air. The loom of the weaver is very rude. It is placed under a tree in the morning, and removed to the hut at night. It consists of four forked sticks set in the ground—two pieces across these, to which the ends of the web are

attached—for the warp is not rolled on a beam, as in the British mode of weaving. The hiddles for forming the shed are but sticks and strings, which are fastened above to the tree which shelters the weaver, and he gets a foot into each of the two loops at the bottom. No European could manufacture the coarsest canvas, upon an apparatus with which the Hindû produces at once the most beautiful and the most durable textures.

Under the Madras Presidency there are, or at least there used to be, eleven factories, which could produce annually goods to the value of about a million sterling; but the quantity now does not amount to one tenth, or by the Company, to the one hundred part of that. Money is advanced to the weavers, who are taken jointly bound for the furnishing of the goods; and if, which is often the case, they live scattered over the country, native agents are employed. When the weaver does not finish his web at the time contracted for, a peon, or countryman, is put in possession of his house, and the weaver must pay him at the rate of an *ana*, the sixteenth of a rupee, or nearly three halfpence each day. The average earning of a weaver is about four rupees, or seven shillings and nine-pence per month, so that the tenpence halfpenny to the peon is a considerable fraction of his earnings.

The bleaching of the Hindûs is very simple, as the sun, with the assistance of water alone, tends to produce a pure white. When cottons are to be coloured, they used to be worn for a week, soaking in a ley of animal matter, washed, soaked in curdled buffalo's milk, and dried, the refuse of the milk being first taken off. The mordaunts are,—for black, iron prepared by sour palm-wine; and for most of the other colours, alum water. In the fine chintzes, the patterns are drawn on paper, which is pierced in the margins of the figures, and transferred to the cloth by beating with a bag of coloured powder. When the pattern has been traced, one colour is laid on topically with a brush of a piece of wood beat to fibres, or a bunch of fibres of the coïre of the cocoa-nut. The piece is then worn till it be completely dirty, and then thoroughly washed. If the colour stands that, another is put on; and the process is repeated for each colour, so that the permanence of all is ascertained. The colouring matters are chiefly Indigo for the blues; gum-lac for the reds, though other other substances be used, and the cochineal has been introduced, especially in Mysore, where the castus, on which it feeds, forms hedge rows: turmeric, or Indian saffron (*curcuma longa*), for the yellows; and iron, and the marking nut (*anacardium semecarpus*), for black.



Shades of colour are produced by the mixture of these ; and there are some colours produced by substances that are not well known to Europeans. Some idea of the advantage that Britain derives from the spinning of cotton by machinery may be obtained by this fact : cotton can be imported from India, spun into yarn in this country, exported again to India, and sold, on the average, for one shilling and ninepence, while the spinner in India, to earn only about three farthings per day, cannot produce the finest yarn under an expense of less than three or four shillings a pound, or about fifteen times the value of the cotton. An occupation which is so tedious, and affords so very small a remuneration to the labourer, could not, of course, be carried on except as an occasional employment by the women and children ; and it cannot possibly stand a competition with the produce of machinery.

Perhaps there is nothing in which the real advantage of the application of science to the arts appears more conspicuous than in the manufacture of cotton ; and fine as the fingers of the Hindûs are, they are really nothing to the artificial fingers produced by the machinist of Britain. Nor is there the slightest chance that the manufactures of India can ever regain the ground that they have lost ; so that there is not

now any thing of which the Hindû can dispose profitably, but the raw produce of his soil ; for cheap as the maintenance is, human labour is much more costly in India than the labour of machines is in Europe ; and we make no question that the cotton yarn of England is a material saving to the Hindû weaver in the production of an equal number of yards of cloth, whatever it may be to the wearer in the quality of lasting. The reduction which it has effected in this country is astonishing. In 1775, cotton yarn, No. 80, cost two guineas a pound for mere spinning ; at present, No. 100, which is much finer, is spun for eight-pence, and the yarn itself does not sell for more than five shillings ;—and Britain manufactures more cotton than probably all the world beside.

Of the produce of the Indian loom, silk is the next in value to cotton, and it appears to be an ancient manufacture in India, though it perhaps never reached the same perfection there as in China. The principal places for the rearing of silk-worms are in the Burdwar district of Bengal, and on the upper Ganges, near the mountains ; though there is a wild silk-worm in some places farther to the south, from which a coarse silk is prepared. The best silk manufactures are about Monshedabad, and the ornamental fabrics are made about Benares.

Knit silk stockings are made at Cossimbazar, and in many places there are manufactures of a mixture of silk with worsted, for the consumption of the country. The total value of silk sent from India to England in the year ending 5th January, 1829, was about a million and a quarter, and of that, the million was raw silk, and only the quarter manufactured. So that, as a manufacture for exportation, the silk of India does not rank a great deal higher than the cotton. It does, however, rank a little higher, and it must, for the silk trade, if it does admit of as much improvement by the application of machinery as the cotton, has certainly not got so much in England. One reason for that may be, that till lately it *suffered* the protection of a system of exclusive laws; and the manufacture has certainly improved very much in the short time that has elapsed since that was removed.

The woollen manufactures of India are on a still smaller scale than the silk. In the low countries neither the wool nor the climate answer. In the colder parts of the southern Balaghaut, the camelays, which are so much worn by the country people, are of native wool, and generally of the natural colour. Flannels are made about Patna; and carpets in various places, those of Ellore in the Circars being ac-

counted the best. Canvas is made both from cotton and from sunn hemp, and cables from the fibres of the cocoa-nut ; but none of these can be considered as articles of export.

In working metals, the Hindûs are far behind the inhabitants of Europe ; and the branches in which they excel are not those that are of the greatest use. Arms are the articles which they manufacture best ; their swords are of good temper, and often laboriously ornamented. Some articles in brass, such as water pots, are also well made ; and a few articles of jewellery are tolerably well executed.

Glass-making is understood and practised ; but the Hindûs have not the art of making it transparent ; and they cannot produce a heat sufficient to fuse the materials properly : hence it is both soft and opaque. This glass is chiefly made at Mutcodu, in the Mysore, where both the sand and the soda that enter into its composition are found in the same field. It is of various colours, and principally made into rings, which the Hindû women use as bracelets. It is much softer than the most common glass of Europe ; the furnaces of the Hindûs not being powerful enough for melting that.

The grand characteristic of all the arts in India is the obvious want of power. The hands do their work well, but there is an obvious

want of head. There is no science, and no emulation. Each man follows the occupation which his father followed, and performs the same operation that his father performed—performs it, too, in the same manner; and thus, though one generation follows another, it is the revolution of one dull wheel, and the appearance is still the same. There have been some imitations of European articles, made for Europeans; but it may be very gravely questioned whether, during the last thousand years, the whole native intellect of India has contrived a single machine or tool for the effecting of any native purpose.

The pottery of the Hindûs is rude and coarse, although, from the quantity of decomposed felspar that there is in the country, the materials should be good as well as abundant; but a clay vessel, dried in the sun, is generally all that is wanted. In any thing, however, that merely requires “handling,” the Hindûs excel. Some of their embroidered leather is very rich; and their cabinet work, especially that which is made about Vizagapatam, in the Circars, is tastefully inlaid and painted, and beautifully polished. In the north of India Proper, a very fine paper is made from the inner bark of a tree. It is, though thin, much tougher than

the paper of Europe, and is often gilt, cut into slips, and woven into the ornamented cloths.

The indigo has been already mentioned. Cochineal, though but a recent introduction, is produced in considerable quantities; though in quality it is not equal to that of America. The aromatic oils and essences are very simple manufactures; and so much of the operations of making saltpetre and salt are done by the soil and the climate, that they can hardly be called manufactures at all.

The only contrivances that deserve the name of machinery are mills. Hand-mills, bearing some resemblance to the quern, anciently used in Britain, and still met with in some of the very remote parts of Scotland, are in general use; but they are so effectless that two persons cannot grind above fifty pounds of coarse flour in a day. In some parts of the north, however, there are water-mills for grinding wheat and barley, but they are small and rude. The oil-mills are often worked by bullocks. They consist of a pestle and mortar; the mortar being fixed in an upright block of wood, and the pestle being worked round by means of a cross-piece and beam, to which the bullocks are yoked. The man who conducts the mill rides upon the cross-piece, prevents the seeds



from falling over the sides of the mortar, and collects the oil as it is produced. The following notes on their arts and artists, by Sonnerat, are accurate at the present time :—

“ The Indian carpenter knows no other tools than the plane, chisel, wimble, a hammer, and a kind of hatchet. The earth serves him for a shop-board, and his foot for a hold-fast ; but he is a month in performing what one workman will do in three days.

“ The sawyer places his wood between two joists fixed in the ground ; and, sitting carefully on a little bench, employs three days, with one saw, to make a plank which would cost our people an hour’s work.

“ The blacksmith carries his tools with him, his forge, and his little furnace, working wherever he is employed. He sets up his forge before the house of the person who calls him, and with the dirt of the place makes a little wall, before which he places his hearth. Behind the wall are two leather bellows, which his apprentice keeps going by alternately pressing on the top. In this manner the fire is kept up. A stone serves for an anvil, and his whole apparatus consists of a pair of pincers, a hammer, a mallet, and a file. In the villages, the carpenter and blacksmith are often conjoined in the same individual.

“ The Indian goldsmith carries his shop with him wherever he is sent for. His furnace is an earthen pot ; an iron pipe serves him for bellows, and a pair of pincers, a hammer, a file, and a small mallet, are all his tools. He makes his crucible on the spot, with clay, mixed with charcoal and cow-dung.

“ The shoemaker has no other tools than an awl and a knife—no shop for leather or lasts. When a pair of shoes are wanted, the money must be advanced, and with this money he buys a sheepskin, which he prepares on the same day, and on the morrow brings the shoes. From the shoemakers working in leather, and eating meat, they are held in the greatest contempt by the other Indians, who esteem them the lowest order of men. They are, in fact, not a caste at all, but Pariars, and employed as executioners, and in carrying out dead bodies.”

Until the recent construction of some military and hackery roads by the British, which are yet very rude, and liable to be much injured by the rains, there never was any thing that could be considered as a highway in India. In the countries on the Ganges and Indus, the inland trade is yet in great measure carried on by the rivers. There are probably not less than three hundred thousand men employed

in the conducting of boats in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar alone. As far as Patna, the boats are large, generally about one hundred tons burden, and even yet they have to be armed on account of the dacoits and river pirates. The boats that are used higher up the rivers, and also in the Hoogly, below Calcutta, where there are shallows, are flat, and without keels. On the Indus, some of the boats do not draw more than a few inches of water. Poles and tracking are more frequently used than oars ; and even on the Ganges, when low, the boatmen are constantly getting into the mud to push the craft along. Where there are not carriages by water, the usual mode of conveying goods is by bullocks, buffaloes, or sometimes horses, and in the north by camels. One driver manages four bullocks or buffaloes, and the carriers are often the owners of the goods. Caravanseras, or durm sallahs, are erected for their shelter, and in these they may cook their own food, or find provisions from the Brahmins or others, who are always found near the halting places. There is a great deal of this carrying trade between the Deccan and Bengal, and generally between the countries below and above the Ghauts. In the Deccan, those carriers form a class, and are said to be the descendants of the camp-followers of some of the successors

of Acbar, in their inroads into that part of India. There are itinerant grain merchants, who are styled banjarries, who travel in bands, chiefly when the country is in a state of war; and when they do not find the carrying trade profitable, they reside in one place, and become cultivators. There are also travelling merchants, or banyans, who, while they have a fixed residence and trade in some part of the country, traverse other parts, attended by coolies, or porters. There is an inferior class of hawkers, generally Mahomedans, who perambulate the country with light wares, and, as is the case with the same class in most other places, they are not very much celebrated for the honesty of their dealings.

In many parts of India there are weekly markets, at which the people of the district may dispose of their produce, and purchase cotton or any other commodity that they may require; and there are two or three places at which there are great fairs. The chief of these are Cooloo in Orissa, Nolucky Hant in Bengal, and Hurdwar in Delhi. The fair at Cooloo is a cotton fair; that at Nolucky Hant, is chiefly for the weavers of the Dacca district; and that at Hurdwar is of a more general nature. The most singular custom at the last mentioned fair is the fact that the

bargains are carried on without any words; the parties speak by touching the joints of each other's fingers; and in order that they may not be seen by the by-standers, there is a cloth thrown over their hands. The customs by which business is accompanied are all remarkably rude, and point out an origin in a state of society that had derived very little advantage from civilization; and though the Company have certainly put down some of the excesses that used to take place at these assemblages they have not made them much more rational.

As may naturally be supposed from the state of degradation to which they are sunk by religion, by caste, and by the long period of oppression to which they have been subjected, the Hindûs are, generally speaking, an indolent people, and work only under the impulse of necessity. When the weaver has got possession of three or four rupees, he often absents himself until it be spent; and it is very doubtful whether their morals may not have suffered from the residence of the British, and the introduction of liquor-shops by them. Although the use of liquors is forbidden by the Hindû law, those houses are said to be frequented not only by the pariahs, and low castes, but by the Brahmins themselves; and as the frequenters of such places are held in detestation by the

wealthy Hindûs, there can be little question that the houses degrade the people, encourage them in idleness, and in all those vices of which idleness is so productive. Indeed, if the people of India have not been much benefited by the law of England, it is not easy to see how they can have escaped being injured by the lawlessness. A rude people first learn the vices of their more civilized visitors; and it does not appear that India is an exception.



## CHAPTER X.

TOWNS, &amp;c.



CALCUTTA.

Not the least amusing of the lighter features in the picture of India, is the appearance of our countrymen there. The expense of keeping a retinue of servants is so trifling, compared

with the cost of the same ostentation in England, that a person in a comparatively humble situation can afford, and generally has, a greater following than the first nobleman in England. In the towns at the respective Presidencies, it is not necessary for this following to be armed; and instead of that, the peons, or lackeys, carry silver sticks before the great man. Those sticks are sometimes short, and bent towards the upper end, and terminate in the head of a tiger or other animal. At other times they more resemble a beadle's mace, or the staff of a drum-major. In England they would appear exceedingly ridiculous, but they are necessary in India, where the people have no notion of greatness but the external show that it makes. There are persons whose hereditary office it is to perform all the possible duties that can be wanted in the most gaudy and luxurious establishment. These are sircars, or agents, that take charge of money matters; khânsamans, or stewards, who look after the general establishment; sirdar bearers, who direct the palanquin men on the march, and are the especial valets de chambre; with an endless list, each doing his own office humbly and faithfully, but never interfering with any work which is the duty of another, as that would be both polluting and being polluted. Whatever may be the

number of servants that are of caste, it is necessary to employ a pariah, in supplement, for the cleaning of shoes, as the touching of leather is an especial abomination to a Hindû. In former times, when there were ways of getting wealth in India that are now obsolete, this pomp was sometimes extremely ludicrous. The palanquin was as gaudy with gilding, and almost as costly, as a Lord Mayor's coach; the umbrella that was carried over it as gorgeous as the canopy at a coronation dinner; the number of gold sticks, silver sticks, and peons, armed with spear and shield, and, save the shred of cloth round their middle, clad in the "dun night-gown" of their own skins, were almost past counting; so that a merchant, a writer, or a subaltern in the army, might have passed, with one ignorant of the customs of the country, for the Mogul himself; and the Governor General's appearance on state days might have been mistaken for an avatar of Vishnû;—nor is there any question that, had Clive been a Brahmin, and resided permanently in India, he would in due time have come to that honour. In those times, children had separate establishments before they could speak, and sahees paraded along with them, with led horses, ready caparisoned, before they could walk.

CALCUTTA, being the seat of the Governor

General, and the centre of the greatest wealth and trade of India, is, of course, the most remarkable among the British towns. It is large; and, both in its architecture and its inhabitants, the most motley city on the face of the earth.

Calcutta is situated on the left or east bank of the Hoogly, about one hundred miles from the sea; and Fort William, the citadel, stands in latitude  $22^{\circ} 23'$ , and longitude  $88^{\circ} 28'$ . The ground on which it is built being low and flat, was originally very unwholesome, from the numerous marshes and thick jungles in the immediate vicinity; and even now it is far from healthy, as it is affected by the pestilent air from the Sunderbunds. The soil is an alluvion, of great depth; and it has the characteristic of most part of the lower Valley of the Ganges, in being quite impervious to water, so that there is not anything like a spring or fountain, nor has any appearance of water been met with upon boring to the depth of one hundred and fifty feet. This is just what might be looked for in a river deposit consisting of clay and vegetable matter; and possibly the boring would have to be carried considerably deeper than the present bottom of the Bay of Bengal, off Sagor. Trees have been met with in the soil at Calcutta, sixty feet below the surface, with the

stumps of the trunks erect, and the remains of the roots evidently in the situation in which they had grown, but without any part of the upper branches,—shewing that an unusual deposition of mud had taken place for some years, and then the floods had swept off the parts of the trees that were exposed. In other places, traces of these strata of soil have been met with at a depth of about fifty feet; but whether these have been the native vegetation of the places where they are found, or a deposit brought down from the upper country, there are, of course, no means of ascertaining. The whole of those deposits tend to shew, that the accumulation of matter in the Valley of the Ganges has been going on for a great length of time, and render it probable that what is now the plain of Bengal had, at one time, been an arm of the sea.

Some partial amelioration of the climate of Calcutta has been effected, by keeping the surface drained as far as possible, and opening cuts through the jungle; but while so much land in the neighbourhood is under wet culture for rice, the place cannot be healthy: and were it not for the constant transfer of air produced by the current and tide of the Ganges, it would not be habitable by Europeans. Though the water of the Ganges is holy,

it is by no means pure, and its very sacredness adds not a little to the impurity, as the carcasses of animals and devotees float pretty copiously upon its tide, and do not give out the most fragrant of perfumes. The current, however, which runs along with considerable rapidity, makes amends; and, while it promotes the salubrity of the air, it is very favourable to internal trade. There are some canals that add to the navigation; though both rivers and canals are difficult to manage in the delta of the Ganges. When the rains come, the mud gets so soft, and the banks are so much broken down, that the navigation is always liable to seasonal interruptions; while in water that has not a current, jungles and aquatic plants are constantly springing up, impeding the passage by their mass, and tainting the air by their exhalations.

There are few towns that have risen so rapidly to a vast population as Calcutta. Not more than eighty years ago it was a mere village, and the situations where the best houses are now were jungles. In proceeding up the river the first object that presents itself is the fort. The works are very low, and there are hardly any buildings within the walls, so that its appearance is far from striking. It is a decent piece of engineering, however, and very well



kept,—the only objection to it being a very common one in all the proceedings and works of the English toward India. It is a little too splendid. The works are admirably planned, both for commanding the river, and standing a siege; but then they are so extensive, that ten thousand troops are necessary to man them properly. The fort is an octagon, with five regular sides toward the land, and three irregular ones toward the water. The latter need no defence but the artillery, of which a great force is accumulated, and very skilfully placed. The curtains on the land sides are defended by outworks, the salient angles of which project so far that they could take the trenches of a besieging army in reverse, while the flanks of the bastions are so constructed that they could not be raked *en ricochet*.

The body of the place is left open, or only laid out in walks, and planted with trees, the shade of which is very agreeable. The greatest disadvantage about the fort is the want of water, which, considering that it is on the very margin of a great river, is not what would be expected; but, in the dry season, indeed at almost all seasons, the water of the river is filthy, and it is not filtered by the soil. There are wells in the outworks of the fort, and they contain water; but that water oozes through that portion of

the soil which is strongly impregnated with salt. Thus the water of the wells becomes so brackish in the dry season, that it cannot be used, and recourse is had to the usual mode of obtaining water,—preserving the rain in tanks.

Between the fort and the town there is an open esplanade for a considerable extent, which is offensive with mire in the wet season, and more so with dust in the dry; but it is spacious, and the view of the town from it, so far as a perfectly flat view can be, is fine. The houses are generally detached from each other; and they are stuccoed over with lime, which, when they are clean, gives them the appearance of marble palaces. The style of architecture, which is a sort of Grecian or Roman, is not much better adapted to the climate of India than it is to the climate of England; and though the colonnades and friezes do not collect so much smoke as they do in London, they are not without their inconveniences. What is wanted in India is shade from the sun at one time, and shelter from the rain at another; and as the Grecian portico and Italian verandah are not calculated to afford either, all the ornaments of the houses are useless and out of place. They are pierced by a vast number of windows, upon which the thick blinds and mats shew

that the houses have been erected, just because it is the fashion for Englishmen to erect such houses in their own country, and without any reference to what would be most convenient in India. In the wooden parts of the houses, the white ants are apt to commit terrible havoc. They advance in their covered ways, either on the outside or inside of the building, as may best suit their purposes, and when they reach a beam, they consume the whole interior, without making any apparent alteration in the exterior ; and thus the owner is not aware that his abode has sustained any damage until it tumbles, in whole, or in part, about his ears. The expense of building is very considerable at Calcutta ; and as the houses are not, from the corrosive nature of the atmosphere, durable, rents are, probably, higher in proportion.

One of the greatest singularities to a stranger in Calcutta is the number of wild animals. Birds swarm in all places, and are perched upon the tops of all the houses. These are chiefly of the foul-feeding kinds,—crows, kites, vultures, and the adjutant, or large stork. But so far from being deemed an annoyance, these birds are useful. The Hindûs do not eat animal food ; the wealthy Europeans are profuse, and what they have at their feasts can be only in small part consumed by the pariahs

and poor Portuguese. The remains are, therefore, thrown out ; and would do the most serious injury to the healthiness of the place, if they were allowed to putrify, which they would do almost immediately in the open air. No sooner is any garbage thrown out than it is consumed by these birds during the day ; while at night the jungles send forth a number of quadruped competitors in the pariah dogs, foxes, and jackals, which begin to announce their approach by incessant yelping as night falls, and carry on the work of scavengers till the morning.

As there are few competitors in the market for the food that Europeans use, the supply is abundant ; and as the climate is against any more mental labour than may be necessary in the way of business, the people are very hospitable,—that is, they are very much given to the paying and receiving of visits. The morning is the usual time for business,—as when the day begins to be a little advanced, the heat is so great that it confines Europeans to their houses, unless they shall venture out in palanquins, which have, however, to be shaded under large umbrellas. Between one and two o'clock a tiffin, or lunch, is taken, after which it is not unusual to indulge in two or three hours of a siesta, after the fashion of the Spaniards. At

sunset the people come abroad in palanquins, or carriages, and on horse-back ; and enjoy the air, which by that time has got cool, compared with what it was during the day. The enjoyment is not, however, of very long duration : the twilight in tropical countries being short, and darkness soon setting in. The drive is, however, often protracted beyond day-light ; and in these cases the peons run along by the side of the carriages, bearing torches—a species of illumination which is very common in Calcutta. Dinner usually follows, and is almost invariably set down to by artificial light, while the sitting is protracted till after midnight. This renders the siesta as necessary as it is agreeable.

The English part of the town is all splendour and gaiety, and the public exhibitions given by the governor and principal officers are regal. One of the most splendid of them, and the most singular to a European, is the levee to the native princes, who attend in person, or are represented by their vakeels, or ambassadors. The principal part of the ceremony is the presenting of *khelâts*, or robes of honour. This is a Mahomedan custom, and was general at the Mogul court. We shall take the liberty of quoting the late Bishop Heber's account of one, which is characterised by that good sense and

playful naïveté, for which that amiable prelate was so much distinguished, and which, among other qualities, rendered his premature death so great a loss to India. “I went down,” says the bishop, “to attend a Durbar, or native levee, of the Governor’s, which all the principal native residents in Calcutta were expected to attend, as well as the vakeels from some Indian princes. I found on my arrival that the levee had begun, and that Lord Amherst, attended by his aides-de-camp, and the Persian secretary, had already walked down one side, where the persons of most rank, and who were to receive ‘*khelâts*,’ or honorary dresses, were stationed. I, therefore, missed this ceremony, but joined him, and walked round to those to whom he had not yet spoken, comprising some persons of considerable rank and wealth, and some learned men, travellers from different eastern countries, who, each in turn, addressed his compliments, or petitions, or complaints, to the Governor. There were several whom we thus passed who spoke English, not only fluently, but gracefully.

“After Lord Amherst had completed the circle, he stood on the lowest step of the throne, and the visitors advanced one by one to take leave. First came a young rajah, of the Rajpootana district, who had received that day the inves-



titure of his father's territories, in a splendid brocade *khelât*, and turban; he was a little, pale, shy-looking boy, of twelve years old. Lord Amherst, in addition to these splendid robes, placed a large diamond aigrette in his turban, tied a string of valuable pearls round his neck, then gave him a small silver bottle of ottar of roses, and a lump of pawn, or betel, wrapped up in a plantain leaf. Next came forward the vakeel, or envoy, of the Maharaja Sindia; also a boy, not above sixteen, but smart, self-possessed, and dandy-looking. His *khelât* and presents were a little, and but a little, less splendid than those of his precursor. Then followed Oude, Nagpoor, Nepâl, all represented by their vakeels, and each in turn honoured by similar, though less splendid, marks of attention. The next was a Persian Khân, a fine, military-looking man, rather corpulent, of a complexion not different from that of a Turk, or other southern Europeans, with a magnificent black beard, and a very pleasing and animated address. A vakeel from Sind succeeded, with a high red cap, and was followed by an Arab, handsomely dressed, and as fair, nearly, though not so good looking, as the Persian. These were all distinguished, and received each some mark of favour. Those

who followed had only a little ottar poured on their handkerchiefs, and some pawn. On the whole it was an interesting and striking sight, though less magnificent than I had expected, and less so, I think, than the levee of an European monarch. The sameness of the general part of the dresses (white muslin) was not sufficiently relieved by the splendour of the few khelâts; and even those which were of gold and silver brocade, were, in a great measure, eclipsed by the scarlet and blue uniforms, gold lace and feathers of the English. One of the most striking figures was the Governor General's native aide-de-camp, a tall, strong-built, and remarkably handsome man, in the flower of his age, and of a countenance at once kind and bold. His dress was a very rich hussar uniform, and he advanced last of the circle, with the usual military salute; then, instead of the offering of money which each of the rest made, he bared a small part of the blade of his sabre, and held it out to the Governor. The ottar he received, not on his handkerchief, but on his white cotton gloves." *Journal I.*, 79.

But people must not allow themselves to be misled by the pomp of official men, and the glitter of gala days. For those Europeans and their descendants, who have no office, no favour, and

no connexion at court, Calcutta is no land of Goshen. In the mere article of food, they may do well enough upon very little money, if they will just wait till their more fortunate countrymen have dined, and bargain with the khânsaman for the broken victuals ; but the natives can perform all sorts of work that is wanted so much cheaper, that there is not the least demand for British talent there, or in any other place in India. They know not the country ; and then, if they speculate they have every chance of being ruined ; and if they are tempted to borrow money, which is a much more easy matter than paying it again, their beggary is certain. In India, the European is no match for the Hindû, unless he is invested with government power ; and, now at least, there is nothing but a connexion with the Company that can enable him to get any thing like a living. The natives are the folks that make the money, since all ambition for office was put an end to ; and they contrive to deal with even the inconsiderate official men, something in the same way as the remnant of Jacob are understood to deal with the prodigal sons of England. These Hindûs occasionally give a sort of entertainment to the English ; but the females do not appear, and the men, if of

high caste, neither eat nor drink with their guests. Singing and dancing, by professors, are the chief exhibitions; and in the houses of the more respectable Hindûs, the dress and gestures of the dancing girls are, upon these occasions, not modest merely, but absolutely demure. When the guests have seen enough of the entertainment, and not a great deal of it suffices, they adjourn to the supper rooms. The apartments of the Hindûs are, generally speaking, slovenly and mean; but upon those occasions, the court is converted into a hall, by spreading one piece of cloth upon it as a carpet, and covering it with another, by way of roof; and as the court has generally pillored galleries along the sides, the temporary apartment has no bad effect; and the women, who generally occupy upper apartments that look into the court, can see how matters go on, without being themselves seen.

Calcutta is not all a city of palaces, although it appears to be so when seen from the esplanade. Behind that there are some good houses, and Tank Square is rather spacious than otherwise. That square, which is about one thousand five hundred feet in the side, gets its name from a large tank, or reservoir, of water in the centre. What with excavation, what

with embanking, this tank is about sixty feet in depth, with a balustrade surrounding the top, and steps in the inside leading all the way to the bottom. A little beyond that, what is called "the black town" begins, and is the residence of the natives, and some of the poorer Europeans. The streets are narrow, crooked, unpaved, and filled with all manner of impurities; and did the Hindûs live upon animal food, and throw the refuse of that into the streets, that part of Calcutta could not be inhabited. Sometimes a brick house of two stories, with a flat roof, is met with in this part of town; and there are occasionally large abodes, inhabited by more wealthy natives; but in general the habitations have their walls formed of bambûs, mats, and other light matters, and the interior is nearly destitute of furniture. Eastward, the black town reaches within between one and five miles of the salt lagoon that extends into the Sunderbunds. As this piece of water is wholly, or nearly, stagnant, the vapours from it are so very pestilent, that it is known among even the Hindûs, by the name of the "bad water." The intermediate space is, as far as vegetation is concerned, a very luxuriant, but it is withal a very filthy suburb. Gardens, tanks, and puddles,

rank with vegetation, dirty huts, with all manner of abominations, are blended together.

The more wealthy of the English have often houses at a distance from the fort. When those houses are built in the cottage style, which is the one best adapted to the climate, they are, by the English, styled “ bungalows ;” and some of these, which have large verandahs and scandent plants trained to the pillars by which these are supported, would be picturesque. One of the most favourite places for those dwellings is Barrackpore, on the same side of the Hoogly as Calcutta, only about sixteen miles farther up the river. It is there that the governor’s country house is erected, to which there is attached a very pleasant though not very extensive park. The situation of the house is very pleasant, as the current of the tide brings a cooling wind from the south in the hot season. The country house is but small, but it is very neat, and there are other bungalows in the park, at which visitors, and those who attend the court when the governor is there, reside. In those places the sleeping apartments are generally on the south side of the house, and the verandahs are left open there, for the purpose of admitting free air.





GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT BARRACKPOOR.

FROM its being the occasional residence of the governor, a military station, and a favourite retreat of Europeans, Barrackpore is a gay place; and in the cold season there are horse races. The trees in the park are very beautiful, and the place is lively from the number of boats that pass up and down the river, some of them of very large size, and others with men for masts. These men take their mantles, and setting a foot on each of two corners, holding one of the others in each hand, in such a way as to form a belly to receive the wind, making the light vessel glide on with more rapidity than would easily be believed.

There is a sort of menagerie in the park at Barrackpore, but the number of animals in it is few, and they are not very interesting.

Elephants are, however, shown off there for the purposes of pomp, which is not the case in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta, as they would produce mischief there by alarming the horses.

Madras is very different from Calcutta, the ground upon which it stands being as remarkable for sterility, as that of Calcutta is for an excess of vegetation. There is also comparatively little trade, from the difficulty of landing, and the impossibility of constructing a harbour. The roads are much better, however, and there are some navigable canals. The population of the town and the district immediately round it, is probably not much less than half a million; but there is not the same appearance of an European town as at Calcutta. Contrary to what is the case there, many of the places of business are in the fort; and the dwellings of Europeans are a little way in the interior. The Madras Presidency has been greatly improved under the sway of the Company, and though the immediate neighbourhood of the town be rather sterile, and provisions higher than in Calcutta, in consequence of the greater distance from which they have to be fetched, the importation of rice from Bengal, which used to be a regular and pretty extensive trade, has become almost unnecessary. When, indeed, the condition of this presidency now, is com-

pared with that in which it was found by the servants of the Company, we must allow that they have been great benefactors to this part of India. What may have been the state of the country before the inroads of the Mahomedans, and the wars and devastations of Hyder, Tippoo, the Nizam, and the Maharattas, we have not now the means of ascertaining; but there are sufficient grounds for believing that it was much better than when the British influence was first established; and also that the present state of at least a very considerable part of it, is better than it would have been, had the Mahomedan power continued in the Mysore, and that of the Maharattas in the south-west of the Deccan. The system in this part of India, appears to be more favourable to the cultivator than that which obtains in Bengal, probably because there were not so many spoilers as there were under the emperors, especially in the wane of their power. Less prolonged violence had been done to the manners of the Hindûs than in the northern countries; on which account, probably, their morals were better, and when they found that they were freed from hostile armies, they returned with more alacrity to the cultivation of their fields.

There is another circumstance. In order that

the government of Southern India may be able to get a revenue, it must do more for the people than is required in Bengal. The watering by courses and tanks must be on so large a scale that it can be done only by the government ; and thus, as all profit by those accommodations—and in the low country there is no cultivation without them—there is a sort of reciprocity produced which must be beneficial. Probably also the tenures of the land have been less changed from their primitive form than in the north ; and the recent reduction of the number of zillah or district courts has given the head men of the villages more importance. At the same time, the establishment of our government has had the effect of putting an end to a very general system of small hostility, which the heads of the villages, while they had armed followers and fortified residences, used to carry on against each other ; and which, as they were not powerful enough for being independent, and yet not disposed to remain in subjection when not compelled to do so by the immediate presence of a military force, had the most injurious effects upon the habits and industry of the people.

The territory of the Madras Presidency is very irregular ; but, perhaps, it does not, taken altogether, differ much from a square, four hun-

dred miles in the side. It is thus equal to a large kingdom ; and the population is probably about fourteen millions.

The appearance of Madras, when seen from a distance, is rather imposing. The walls of the fort, and the buildings that are seen, are white and shining, and they are interspersed with trees. The fort is strong, and though not nearly so large as Fort William at Calcutta, it can be defended at much less expense ; and probably would stand a siege as long. The Black Town, which contains the native, of course the principal population, is mean ; but the garden houses are very neat, and better adapted to the climate than the palaces of Calcutta.

They are generally only one story in height, finely smoothed over with pure white lime, and embowered among trees and bushes, which gives them a cool appearance. The obtaining of that shelter has, however, been a work of great labour, and in the dry season they are not preserved without difficulty. The roads, too, are in many places shaded by trees, and the choultries, or resting houses, are convenient. Vegetation only appears, however, in the vicinity of water, and great part of the surface is brown and arid. The water is of good quality, and the town well supplied.



As the Europeans chiefly reside in the garden-houses, and not in the town, the habits of the people are a little different from those at Calcutta. In the early part of the morning, there is a general system of calls by those who are going to the fort. That is over by about eleven; and then the idle people gossip till two, when the tiffin is eaten; and after that a good many indulge in the siesta. After the business people have returned, there is a general drive along the Mount Road, where they are fond of showing off their equipages, and generally drive so slowly, that they keep conversing together the greater part of the time. This is continued till dusk, after which they retire to dinner. This scattered mode of living gives employment to a great number of pedlars, who hawk articles about from house to house; and jugglers are more numerous, and also more expert, about Madras than in any other part of India. The want of a landing-place from the sea is, however, a disadvantage, for which there is no compensation.

The government house, the church of St. George, and some of the other public buildings, are very handsome. These are mostly upon the Choultry plain, where they have the advantage of the breeze from the sea. Even there, however, the air is often excessively hot; and



the rooms not fit for being inhabited, unless mats of cusa grass, kept moist, be placed over the windows. These have two advantages : the evaporation from them keeps the air agreeably cool, and the grass diffuses an agreeable scent.

Bombay is very different from both the capitals of the other presidencies ; and though it is situated upon a rocky island, the ground upon which it immediately stands is a swamp. All the islands, which enclose, or are contained in, the harbour, appear indeed to have originally consisted of masses of rock, with the hollows between them filled up with mud, over which the sea partially flowed during high tides. A considerable part of the town is as low as the high water of spring tides, if not lower ; and much of the soil would be washed away by the inundations during the rains, were it not protected by embankments. These occasion the stagnation of a great deal of water, and, notwithstanding the sea air, occasion a great deal of unhealthiness. The parts of the island that are covered with soil, were originally forests of cocoa-palms, and there is still a considerable number of these ; but much of it has been cleared, and though not very productive, is under culture. Many of the houses within the walls are constructed of wood, the ground (which is rather singular in a fortified

place) is often private property, and sells or lets very high.

As is the case at Madras, the greater part of the British live in country houses, and repair to the fort only to transact their business. The government house within the fort is a very dull and gloomy structure; but there are two pleasant country residences. One of these is at Malabar Point, about eight miles from the town, and so near the sea, that the spray beats over it. This is holy ground—at least there is a hole in the rock, to which numbers of Hindû pilgrims resort, and by creeping through, contrive to leave their sins at the side by which they enter. The Brahmins, as is usual at holy places, assisting in the pious work, and being paid for it. The governor generally resides at that place during the very hot season. The other and principal residence is near the eastern shore of the island.

The greater part of the inhabitants of Bombay, of which there are probably about one hundred and sixty thousand permanent, and sixty thousand more that resort to it occasionally, are Hindûs: but the population is much mixed; and a good deal of the property and trade of the town and island, are in the hands of the Parsees, or fire worshippers, whom the

Mahomedans expelled from Persia. Those people have complete management of the docks and ship-building, and, indeed, there are few houses of business in the place that have not, at least, one Parsee partner, and they may be considered as the leading people of Bombay. The men are much stronger and more handsome than the Hindûs ; but the women, though handsome when very young, very soon acquire a harsh, masculine appearance. The Parsees are a very industrious and peaceable people ; but their habits and houses are not very cleanly. Of course they have no distinction of caste—neither have they any regulations in their religion which restrain them in eating and drinking. Their worship is simple,—an adoration of the sun in the mornings and evenings. The Mahomedans are still more numerous in Bombay than the Parsees, and there are a good many Armenians and native Christians.

Though the island does not afford a plentiful supply, the markets of Bombay are better stocked with provisions than those of Madras. The quantity of shipping, and the trade carried on, are very considerable, Bombay being both a mart for foreign commerce, and an entrepôt between the different parts of India.

Owing to the swampy nature of the low grounds, the island is not nearly so healthy as

one would suppose; and though not quite so much oppressed by the heat, European constitutions suffer fully as much from the climate as at any of the other presidencies. The land breeze, which sets in in the evening, the time at which Calcutta and Madras are most agreeable, is very unfavourable to health.

To convey an idea of the towns of India, in the compass of a few pages, would, however, be impossible. They have no general character; and the capitals of the presidencies have not what can be strictly called an Indian character at all. They have grown up under the auspices of Europeans. As little have they a European character; for the population of all of them is so great, and the number of Europeans so few, that the places are English only in so far as they are official.

The most renowned, and probably also the most populous and wealthy, of the native cities, is Benares, the population of which is more than half a million, and some of the mansions so spacious as to contain two hundred people under a single roof. The city stands immediately upon the bank of the sacred Ganges, where that river has cut a concavity into a high bank on the one side, and deposited a meadow on the other; the houses stand on the top of the bank, which is fully thirty feet above the river, to

which ghauts, or flights of stone steps, descend, interspersed by nullahs, or creeks, in which boats are drawn up. The houses in Benares are generally built of stone; often four or five floors in height; and, as is the case in the towns of Scotland, having each floor occupied by a different family. The streets are, however, very narrow and crooked, and from the upper windows the people may almost shake hands across the street. Yet Benares is one of the most flourishing places in India; and the district around it is very rich and productive.

Benares is a place of more than ordinary sanctity, and stands upon a more stable foundation, according to the Hindû cosmogony, than any other part of the world. The rest of the globe stands only on Ananta, the thousand-headed serpent of eternity; but the holy city of Benares, with ten miles round it, is based upon the points of Siva's trident; and, therefore, proof against not local earthquakes merely, but even against the general casualties of the globe. Visiting such a place must, of course, be most efficient against sin; and dying there is, in some respects, more advantageous than at Jugernauth itself. In spite of his love of beef, an Englishman who dies at Benares, and bequeaths any thing to the temples, may make quite sure of the Swerga, and have a fair chance

of being absorbed into Brahm, without the peril of one reptile transmigration.

The Brahmins of Benares have more information and liberality than are usually found among the race; and there are many very wealthy people in the city, as well those who prefer living there upon their fortunes, as those who are engaged in trade. There are three sets of devotees exceedingly abundant: the Brahminny bulls, sacred to Siva, which are very fat and lazy; apes and monkeys, devoted to the valorous Humaioon; and ascetics and mendicants in great abundance. Still there is a great deal of magnificence about the city; and, perhaps, there are more appearances of an approximation to a harmony of feeling with the English about Benares than in other parts of India. The case is one in which, however, it is by no means safe to trust to appearances; and it is as impossible to form a proper estimate of India by looking at it with English eyes, as it would be to make it a happy or flourishing country by governing it by English laws.



## CHAPTER XI.

## RENEWAL OF THE CHARTER.

SINCE the first appearance of these volumes, there is little to add to the eventful history of India. That time has been, for India, one of comparative repose; and it has been more remarkable, for the diffusion over Europe of the results of those enquiries which have latterly been made into Indian geography and Natural History, than for any thing of a political nature.

In a political point of view, however, and regarding India in that light in which the best interests and the best feelings of human nature, require that it should be viewed, the tranquil years which India has enjoyed are of the

utmost importance. It was only by the final subjugation of the Maharattas and the Pindarees, that the English power—that is, the power of the Company—could be considered as fairly consolidated over the whole of India ; and it was only by the condign chastisement of the Burmese, that that power could be considered as safe from external annoyance. Thus it has been only during those years that the British power in India has been established, independent, and capable of exerting itself for the benefit of the extensive territory and the thronging population of the Indian empire.

Those years, too, have been years of general tranquillity over the world, and in them the commercial interests of nations have had more free play than at, probably, any former period of human history. This, again, though it has, to a considerable extent, affected the Company's trade as a monopoly, has had very wholesome effects upon the general state of India, as well as upon the attitude in which the British ascendancy there stands among the nations of the civilized world.

As long as India had to be kept by the sword, so long was it impossible that the English power there could study the characters, know the wishes, and win the hearts of the people ; and as long as it was believed among the other

nations of the western world, that Britain held India in chains, and under the terror of the sword, and derived from so holding India an emolument that amply repaid all the expense, all the danger, all the loss of health, and all the implied disgrace of such a mode of holding, so long must a desire to invade India have mingled with, and formed a considerable part of, every project of hostility to the British interests, in whatever part of the world it may have had its more immediate locality.

The more correct notions which the years of general peace have afforded to the British public, and to the world generally, have therefore been of the greatest utility. They have shown that the government of India is no sinecure, and that it can never be made a matter of revenue to any power not resident in India, how much better soever it may be for the country to take the tone of its general politics from something external, divided as the natives of India still are, into septs and parties, which have been in constant conflict since the most early periods of history, and which would be in constant conflict still, were it not for the wholesome operation of external restraint.

The wars of the Company have been long, they have been extensive, and they have been bloody, but as it is not possible to undo the

evils of war after they once have happened, the wisest course is to improve the good that arises out of the evil; for great as the evil of war is, it is one out of which greater good can be made to arise, than out of any other evil whatever. The condition of Europe, more especially of those parts of it that were formerly in the most backward state, since the close of the general war in 1815, is proof of the general position, that good may arise out of war; and in the case of India the proof is far more clear. The great advantages that result from a general conflict, and they are great in proportion as the conflict is general and obstinate, are the sinking of little jealousies, and the acquiring of extended and valuable information. The corruption of the village officers, and the squabbles of the village, make far more serious inroads upon the comforts, and give much more interruption to the business of the villagers, than the corruptions of ministers and the wars of nations; and if it be true that the people of India have purchased under the British Government a deliverance from those internal squabbles which, from the days of Sesostris to the close of the Pindaree war, made India "any body's conquest," then no price was too high to be paid for it; and could the people of India be fairly made to see, that any government had done that for

them, without any of the degrading and grinding exactions which were made by their former rulers, there is no question that they would be to that government the most loyal and devoted subjects in the world. On the other hand, it is just as clear that the withdrawal of such a government would be the heaviest curse that could be inflicted upon India.

It is the other advantages of war that give to the one now mentioned the most valuable portion of its effect. Knowledge is necessarily the foundation of every thing that deserves the name of government; and whatever may be its dispositions, a government can promote the good of its subjects only in proportion as it knows their condition. That is a proposition which every thing tends to prove, and therefore no proof of it need be mentioned. Now the whole tenor of the narrative part of this little work, and indeed of every thing candidly and honestly written on the state of India, establishes the fact, that that kind of information was more wanted respecting India, than respecting any country whatever; and also, that in their wars and marches, the English were in a state to acquire, and actually acquired, more knowledge of that country, than ever any other race of people did of any country in an equal time. Many circumstances conduced to that

effect. The humblest British leader employed in India, and even the humblest English follower of that leader, must be worth sending twenty thousand miles; the country that he lands in is new to him; and therefore he is an observer, and a rememberer of what he observes, almost in spite of himself.

It is this knowledge, this accumulated knowledge, with the successive stimuli to the farther accumulation, as old residents return and young residents go out to supply their place, which forms the groundwork of the strong plea in favour of the British system of government in India. The mode in which that knowledge has hitherto worked in India, must not be too rigidly criticised; because its perfection, if yet attained, is only as it were a matter of yesterday; and therefore the experience, even of those who are resident in India, is rather too short for enabling them to form a sound and conclusive judgment upon it. If this be the case, as it unquestionably is the case with those resident in India, who have the working of the system immediately under their personal inspection, much more must it be the case with the great mass of the British people at home, whose information respecting India is hearsay and vague, and very often obtained from doubtful sources.

The necessity of great caution, as to the in-



fluence that floating opinions at home should be allowed to have upon the settlement of Indian affairs, becomes the more apparent the more we consider the inapplicability of those opinions to the system of things at home,—a system which people have the means of knowing; and, if they do not know that, it proves pretty clearly that they ought not to venture an opinion upon any political question whatever. The welfare of masses of people is a very grave consideration, and it accords with daily experience to say, that they who talk the loudest about it understand the least. The men who have been systematic railers against all administrations, whatever may be the number of “simple persons” that echo their objurgations, are but too generally, nay, indeed, almost universally, the veriest bunglers in political action, if the chances so turn round as that they have it to perform. Now, if such be the case in that very matter in which such parties appear more immediately to have schooled themselves, and of which they have made a regular trade, much more must it be the case in matters of even greater difficulty, where they have not had the means of information. That circumstance alone should render the question of India, one upon which the British public, and British statesmen as such, whatever knowledge they may

arrogate to themselves, or even actually possess, should enter with the utmost caution, and in the coolest temper of mind.

There are other reasons for the exercise of this caution, and these are the facilities with which transactions so remote as those of India may be misrepresented, and the motives which parties may have to misrepresent them. There are many reasons why the British Government in India, even if it were the best of imaginable governments, should not have, more especially, in the eyes of Britons, whether resident in India or not, the same moral strength as the government of the country at home. It is a government by delegation—a sort of deputy sway; and though the deputy may be, and very often is, the more efficient and valuable man of the two, we never give him the same credit as we give to the principal. Consequently, we may expect that complaints will be made against the delegated government of India on much slighter foundations than any which are made against the original government of England.

Besides, there are circumstances that may operate to place the turbulent part of the English in India in opposition to the government there, which do not operate to a similar purpose at home. Those who go to India, go

with the express intention of making their fortunes; they often go with hopes unnaturally raised; they are consequently often disappointed; and as a man will never lay the burden of his disappointment on his own shoulders, so long as he can find any other shoulders on which to lay it, the failure of extravagant hopes of fortune in India is often employed as a means of attacking the government there. Till very lately, and probably even now, attacks of that kind are peculiarly dangerous in India; because up to a very recent period, and probably still, such circumstances were in danger of influencing, and alienating from the government, a great part of the population. In proportion as these things are more dangerous to public tranquillity, it becomes necessary to restrain them by more severe and summary punishments, inasmuch as governments ought not to proceed upon any abstract or metaphysical theories of crime, but upon the practical injury that the conduct of individuals may be calculated to do to the tranquillity, and consequent happiness, of the whole. The loudest complaints that have been made against the British Government in India, by those who have had even the fact of residence in that country as a claim to being believed, have been by disappointed servants of the Company, or persons sent home

on account of notorious agitations. Now, if the opinions of the ignorant be worth little on such a question—if they be, as they are, perfectly useless, the opinions of the disappointed and the irritated, are absolutely worse than useless, as they must do harm, and cannot by possibility do good. They excite passion, and sow prejudice, while they leave ignorance as thick and palpable as ever.

Persons of the description alluded to very generally neutralize, in the estimation of sensible people, the mischief they intend, by the other matters which they fortunately, though not intentionally, mix up with it; and in this way some of the crusades which have been preached up in England, apparently with a view of poisoning the public mind, before the legislature comes to consider the renewal of the Company's charter, have been nullified to all persons of sense by the other schemes of the preachers, though, unfortunately, there are always abundance of people weak enough for being misled by any rumour, however unfounded, so that there is but loudness and impudence enough in setting it forth. On this account, it is peculiarly fortunate that there has been a short period of genial tranquillity in India, previous to the impending debates on the renewal of the Company's charter.

Whatever may be the opinions of speculative politicians upon the subject, there can be no doubt that the condition of the inhabitants of India has been greatly improved in those years that have elapsed since the conclusion of the war; and—looking at the actual effect of the Company's system during those years,—comparing that with any other system, of the operation of which in India we have any knowledge,—and considering how different the feelings of the Indian people are from any people among whom European systems have been tried—to say nothing of the hypothetical ones,—it is not too much to say, that any great change at the present time would be exceedingly unwise. What particular arrangement there may be between the Company and that portion of the general government which is usually understood to be to a great extent their masters, is a matter of detail rather than of principle; but certainly a change of the whole system, or even of any great portion of it, would be perilling the happiness of that immense population which it has now become the duty of this country to guide on to a higher degree of civilization, by those gradual steps, by which alone a change of that nature can be effected.

To the present management, whether that of the Company or otherwise, any great alteration

would be palpably unjust. They have fought the battle; they have borne the hardship; they have put down the internal factions; they have shown that under them the Hindûs are no longer the easy victims of foreign conquest that they once were; they have, in short, given the country some of the best means and securities for future improvement, by giving it peace and preparing it for union and enlightened knowledge; and as they have done so, it would be highly unjust for any party which had had no share in the obtaining of the good, to step in and claim the whole, or even a portion of the merit. Toward India it would be unjust, because it would again expose that country to those horrors from which it is now enjoying the only thing like settled freedom that it has had for centuries. It may be that the system of *dacoitship*, and some of the other evils that arose out of the unsettled condition of the country, are not yet removed; and it may be that their complete eradication will take years of the most careful government; but it is beyond a doubt, that, in proportion as the rule of the Company has become free from apprehension, it has become liberal; and that, whenever it has been enabled to cease from contending with the sword of the native, its efforts have been directed to the rendering of the labours of his ploughshare more productive,



and all his exertions more conducive to his personal comfort and his elevation in the scale of human beings. That, whatever may be the matter of disputation, is the practical test of the good of governments; and taking the late years, which are the only ones of fair trial, it is extremely probable that the Company's government of India would abide that test better than some other governments of more sounding name and more lofty pretensions. Real governments are active, not speculative machines; and their value depends on what they do, and not on what can be said about them.

There is still another consideration. Supposing that the present system were put an end to, and the present rulers laid on the shelf, what and who are to come in their stead? The system, we shall suppose, is to be altered. Then how shall we know what to substitute for it? The advocate of alteration will naturally reply, "Something that is better adapted to the condition of the Indian population." Be it so. Then comes the question, "What is to be better for that population, and who is to find it out?" The persons who are best able, either themselves to apply a system to the population of India, or to tell others what should be best for that purpose, are, without doubt, they who know most about the population of India. It

has been already said, and no one who reflects calmly on the matter will even attempt to deny the truth of it, that the arguments which are made use of in the mere debating of politics in Europe, ought to be put aside as wholly inapplicable to the case of India; and that that case ought to be worked out entirely upon its own facts. Now if the Company, and their servants resident in India, are withdrawn, who else are in possession of those facts? These are the only parties who possess the requisite knowledge of India, if we except the discontented persons, and the little knowledge that they have is warped and rendered useless by their prejudices. Now, to suppose that they would give up the management of India, and at the same time communicate their knowledge to their successors, would be assuming a degree of accommodation in human nature, which never did, and which never should belong to it. Even if that were possible, it would be unwise, as there would be both loss of time and uncertainty about it. It would sound a little strangely, if, when a workman were called upon to perform immediately any piece of labour, he should, instead of going instantly about it, desire the parties to wait until he had found out and schooled an apprentice to do it in his stead. As applied to the common matters of life, the

absurdity of such a mode of proceeding is apparent at once, and yet it is an exactly parallel case to that which has many advocates, as applied to India, though the case of India be one in which such an application would be far more absurd, and incalculably more dangerous, than in any individual instance that could be cited. To leave a hundred and twenty millions of human beings without government and without laws, till their present governors should impart to another set of men, ignorant of the very nature, the desires, and the wants of those people, the knowledge necessary for framing a new system, would be about the maddest scheme that ever distempered imagination framed; and if any one were to propose it simply, in as many words, he would be reckoned fitter for Bedlam than for the very humblest species of idle political speechification. It is singular to what extent even persons who give themselves some credit for intelligence may be imposed on by the mere mystification of words; for that which has so often been proposed for India, becomes, when freed from rhetorical flourishes, almost exactly that which has been stated. So much for the mode of considering the general merits of the East India question. There remain two other considerations of a general nature: the

making of the question a British one, and the question of time.

The first of these, though it will probably be in a popular point of view the most obstinate, is of comparatively minor importance ; there is but one straight-forward way of dealing with it, and that is studiously to avoid making the question of India a British question at all. If India is to be well and permanently governed by any system, there is quite enough in India itself to occupy that system ; and to suppose that it can be made any way advantageous to the country at home in any other way than by a fair and reciprocal connexion and intercourse between the two countries, is a mere delusion, to entertain which would be to embarrass and fetter the proper subject of consideration. The state of India is such, that, at least in those parts where war has been most recently and most destructively carried on, it has more need of something laid out upon it than of any thing exacted from it. It has never yielded any revenue to strangers, other than the revenue of plunder and spoliation ; and though, as is the case with other large countries, the richer parts of it may afford something in aid of the poorer ; yet if, taken as a whole, it pays for its own government, that is all which can rationally be

expected from it—all that it can by possibility afford.

The notion that in an intercourse between any two countries, one of those countries shall derive all the advantage, or at least so much advantage more than the other, as that both a commercial profit and a direct revenue shall arise from it, was once very general. But its being general did not give it any better foundation than other general errors; and, accordingly, it is now exploded among all persons of intelligence. Not only so, but it seems astonishing why it should ever have been acted upon to any extent, far less to the almost universal extent to which it was once acted on by the nations of modern Europe in their intercourse with the people across the broad seas.

It is quite clear, that if an undue profit,—that is, a profit for which no equivalent is given,—be obtained from any people, that people must thereby be impoverished; and they must soon resist, and put an end to the intercourse, unless compelled to submit to it by the strong hand of power. Thus, the idea of getting any thing more than a fair commercial return from any country, is either absurd, or involves in it the immediate impoverishment and the certain ruin of that country.

In a fair national intercourse, the advantage

ought always to be, and with perfect fairness always will be, greatest to that people who are in the lowest state of civilization; and the only way in which the advantage can be brought nearly to an equality, is by bringing the two nations to nearly the same state of improvement.

This is clearly the principle upon which the British power in India should be viewed; and the only persons to apply that principle properly to the case, are they who are acquainted, intimately and personally, with the feelings and habits of the Hindûs. The burgesses, the knights of the shires, and the lords temporal and spiritual of Britain, as such, are just as ill qualified for regulating the details of Indian government, as the *toties*, and *curnums*, and *potails* of a Hindû village, or the nabobs of Hindû provinces, would be to settle the details of English government; and the one class of persons as well as the other have quite enough to do in their own country. It would be easy to argue this branch of the subject at much greater length; but the impolicy and absurdity of making the question a British one, are so obvious, that they must occur to every one capable of taking an accurate and dispassionate view of the matter.

The case of Ireland is far from a bad one, to



cite as matter of meditation for those who fancy they have nothing more to do than frame a plausible theory, make long speeches about it; and forthwith, India shall have the best of all possible governments. In the course of the last half century, there have been many panaceas propounded, each of which was to make Ireland perfectly tranquil and happy. The measure of Catholic Emancipation, was, above all others, to do that; and that measure was accordingly dressed up like a very Juggernaut, below the wheels of whose car any thing else would be ennobled by being destroyed. That measure has passed; but how stands it with the tranquillity? Is Ireland less turbulent than ever?—Truly not. It is at this moment in a state of greater agitation, and stands as much in need of the fetter of martial law as ever; nor is any one warranted in saying that any measure, proceeding upon the established principles of English legislation, could make it one jot the better. Every one who has a project, will, no doubt, say that his project is the very thing wanted; but mere assertion is but a feeble instrument to bring against positive experience. Now, if British legislators, proceeding upon British principles, and drudging day after day and year after year, have not been able to effect any thing for the amelioration

and improvement of the Irish people, how can they presume that any such means or measures can be wholesome for the population of India? Ireland is at the door; and a journey of observation through it may be made in one vacation of Parliament: India is twenty thousand miles off, and no man could intimately examine the whole of it in a life-time.

The question of time is one that demands some consideration, inasmuch as India may be said to be at this moment under experiment by the Company's government, and under experiment of such a nature, that even the past history of India throws not much light upon the result. It would be unfair to reason respecting a time of tranquillity from the events of times of war and disturbance; and the period since the conclusion of those wars is too short for affording the requisite data for a final decision. So far as it goes, it must be admitted to be upon the whole favourable; and it is doubtful whether, at any time of the long history of the country, the condition of the great body of the people was any thing like so comfortable as it is at present. The progress of improvement in so extensive a country, and where the population has been stationary for thousands of years, must necessarily be slow, and cannot be very greatly accelerated by any means that are ap-

aplicable. When it is considered how slow the progress of improvement is among some classes of persons in England, and how stubborn the established habits of the people are in some other parts of the empire, it is not to be wondered at, that when the people to be improved are five times the number, and those who take upon themselves the office of improvers not one thousandth, the slow progress of Indian improvement must cease to be in any way matter of wonder. That there is a progress, is, however, established by the concurring testimony of all the accounts; and the very fact of the existence of such a progress, under the sway of the Company, is a proof that it is owing to the Company. It is they who afforded that tranquillity and that security, without which there can be no improvement of any kind; it is they who have established communications between the different parts of the country, so that each may supply others with those things which it can supply the cheapest; it is they who have thus laid a foundation for making the many thousands of India gradually one people; and, therefore, to change the system, even in many of its details, would, in the mean time, be hazardous; and to alter it altogether, would be periling the welfare of vast multitudes, for

the gratification of the mere whims of those who know very little of the matter.

The only part of the existing system which can rationally admit of revisal by the politicians of Britain, is that which relates to commerce; and even that would require to be altered with extreme caution, if altered at all. The history of commercial legislation at home is full of pretty strong proofs of the fact, that governments, even when on the spot, and having access to the proper sources of information, generally show more wisdom, and promote the interests of trade better, when they abolish regulations, than when they make new ones; and as the commercial regulations of the Company, whatever may be the theoretical objections to them, have been framed with some knowledge of the spirit and temper of eastern nations, it is very probable that they are better than any which could be framed, by even the most disinterested and intelligent of those who have not the local information.

The trade to China may now be considered as almost the only exclusive branch that remains to the Company; and the trade with China is, from the peculiar character, strong jealousy, and decisive manner of the Chinese authorities, a very ticklish matter, and difficult

to manage even by those who are on the spot. It is a matter also, upon which it is exceedingly difficult to get correct information; and, perhaps, the only Britons who are in possession of any thing approaching to that kind of information, are the servants of the Company, who could not be expected to furnish that information for the purpose of overthrowing the establishment upon which they depend.

Thus, the safest general conclusion at which it is possible to arrive is, that the Charter of the Company should be renewed, for some time at least, with as few changes as possible. By that means, the effect of a general British government of the country, during a period of peace and presumed improvement, would be seen; the knowledge of India would be extending every day; and, if an alteration should subsequently appear to be necessary, that alteration would be made in future with as great a probability of doing good, as it certainly would have of doing mischief in the mean time.

THE END.







